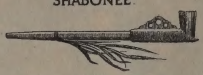
15015-Algonquian

GUACANAGARI PONTIAC BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA CAPTAIN PIPE KEOKUK
GUATIMOTZIN LOGAN SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN CORNPLANTER BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS JOSEPH BRANT MANGUS
SAMOSET RED JACKET COLORADAS
MASSASOIT LITTLE TURTLE LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP TECUMSEH SITTING BULL
UNCAS OSCEOLA CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG SEQUOYA GERONIMO
SHABONEE



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NOTES ON

FORTY ALGONKIN VERSIONS

OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.

BY J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE AM. PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1872.

HARTFORD:
1873.

[From the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1872.]

*NOTES ON FORTY VERSIONS OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN ALGONKIN LANGUAGES.**

In offering as a contribution to the comparative grammar of Algonkin languages some desultory notes on versions of the Lord's Prayer, I do not overlook two considerations that affect the value of any results to which collation and analysis of these versions may lead: first, the probability that few of the translators had a competent knowledge of the languages into which, respectively, their translations were made; and secondly, a certainty that the true meaning of this prayer, in its several petitions, cannot be conveyed to any savage tribe by mere translation, and consequently that the *best* version is not likely to be that which is most *literal*. Scarcely a word — not more than three or four, certainly, — in the English version can be literally translated into any Algonkin language without injury to the sense of the clause in which it occurs. Some words represent ideas which are foreign to the Indian mind. Others have become to all who, in any tongue, have made this prayer their own, mere vocal symbols, whose significance does not inhere in the letter. The words *father*, *heaven*, *kingdom*, *earth*, *bread*, *debts*, *trespasses*, *temptation*, have, to a Christian, other than their literal or primary meanings. For *hallowing* and *forgiving*, the untaught savage had neither words nor conceptions.

The versions here brought together cover a period of nearly two and a half centuries — between the Montagnais of Father Massé (printed in 1632) and the latest revision of the Chippeway New Testament. They are the work of missionaries of various nations and languages — French, English, Swedish, German, — and were made, not directly from the Greek, but each from that European version which was most familiar to the translator. And each translator has adopted a phonetic

* Presented at the New Haven session, July, 1871, and subsequently revised and extended.

system of his own — to which we are too often left without a sufficient key. Some have been satisfied with giving a very free translation or paraphrase. Others have aimed at literal exactness. Hence, the difference between two versions does not necessarily indicate a corresponding difference between the dialects in which they are made. Two versions in the *same* dialect even, by different translators, may have scarcely a word or a grammatical form in common, and yet both may be equally good, or bad. Illustrations of this may be found in the notes, by comparing the re-translations of any one petition in several versions. As regards some particular words — those for which the Indian languages furnish no satisfactory equivalents — a few examples will show how much of the difference of versions belongs to the translators and not to the dialects:

There is no verb 'to be' in Algonkin languages, and no relative pronoun. 'Qui es' or 'who art' cannot be exactly translated into any of these languages. Eliot, following the Greek, *omits* the verb in the invocation, and puts "Our father in heaven" (vers. 10). Others are divided in their preference for one or the other of two verbs (both of which are, I believe, to be found in every Algonkin dialect) meaning, respectively, 'to sit' — hence, 'to remain,' — and 'to be in (this or that) place' — hence, 'to dwell.' To the former belong Micm. *ebin* (v. 1), Del. *t'áppin*, *epian* (vv. 16, 17), Cree *epian* (v. 19), Alg., Chip. and Ott. *epian*, *ebiian* (vv. 23, 24, 28), Potaw. *ebiyin* (v. 31) &c.; to the latter, Abnaki *èhine*, *aiian*, *ayan*, *eïon* (vv. 6, 7, 8, 9), Moh. *oieon* (v. 13), Cree *eyayan* (vv. 18, 20b), Chip. *ayahyan*, *eaiun* (vv. 26, 27), &c.

"In heaven" is variously rendered — 'in the sky,' 'in the place of light,' 'on high,' 'beyond the clouds,' etc. — by words any one of which (divested of its locative inflection) would have been as readily understood, in its natural sense, by Algonkins of other dialects as by those for whom Christian teachers gave it a secondary and special meaning.

Bread was not the staff of life to an Indian, and his little corn-cake, baked in hot ashes, was perhaps about the last thing he would remember to pray for. So, on "daily bread,"

translators were left to a large discretion. The diversity of judgment manifested in the selection of a corresponding Indian word is noticeable. Eliot (in Matt. vi. 11) has 'our eatings' or 'victuals'—avoiding a literal translation of 'bread': and so, in the earliest Montagnais version (21) of Massé,—about which another Jesuit father, Paul Le Jeune, in the *Relation* for 1635, has a story: a Montagnais disciple being questioned as to his religious life, professed to have "always remembered the *best* of the prayers which had been taught him" by the missionaries; "I asked this savage," says Le Jeune, "what prayer this was, that he preferred to all others? 'Thou hast told us many things,' he replied, 'but the petition which seemed to me best of all is: *Mirinan oukachigakhi nimitchiminan*, give us to-day our victuals, give us something to eat: *voilà une excellente oraison!*' said he." "I was not surprised," remarks the good father: "he who has been in no other school than that of the flesh knows not how to speak the language of the spirit."*

The root of *ni-mitchi-minan*—that of the primary verb 'to eat'—is found in the Quiripi version (15), Montagnais (v. 22), Chippeway (vv. 24, 27), Illinois (v. 37), and Potawatomi (v. 31). In Luke xi. 3, Eliot has *petukqunneg*, the common name for an Indian cake, meaning literally 'something rounded'; and with this correspond the Conn. versions (11, 12), Mohegan *tquogh* (v. 13), Shawano *tukwhàh* (v. 35), *tuckwhana* (v. 33), and *tockquanimi* (34). The Abnaki versions (6–9) have 'baked corn'; the Delaware (16, 17) 'pone' or 'Indian bread'—literally, 'something baked'; one of the modern Cree versions (Archdeacon Hunter's, 20b) substitutes 'what we may live on,' 'what sustains life'; the Algonkin of Canada (23), Cree (18, 19, 20), Chippeway of Belcourt and Jones (25, 26), Ottawa of Baraga (28), Menomini of Bonduel (32), have dialectic forms of a name by which the northern Algonkins distinguished a wheat *loaf* of the European fashion—as 'something from which pieces are to be cut off,' that is, 'to be cut in slices,' not broken like the corn cake: Chip. *pakwéjigan;* and *pakwéjiganimin* 'loaf-bread corn,' i. e. wheat.

* *Relation de la Nouvelle France en l'année* 1635, p. 17.

Of the versions here brought together, two are printed for the first time — Mayhew's Connecticut (Mohegan), from his own MS., and the Kennebec Abnaki (v. 9) from a copy made by some missionary from Rasles's or an earlier original. Peirson's Quiripi version (15) was printed in 1658, but it may be regarded as unpublished, since no more than two copies of the volume which contains it are known to be extant, and only one of these is on this side of the Atlantic.* The Montagnais of Father Massé (21) is from Champlain's *Voyages* in the edition of 1632 — to be found in few American libraries; and the later Montagnais of La Brosse (22) is from a volume of which I have not been able to trace more than three or four copies. Of the remaining versions the greater number are from books printed by missionaries or for mission use, which seldom find their way to public libraries or come within reach of private collectors.

I have been at some pains to ensure accuracy of text, but some errors of former impressions have doubtless escaped correction or notice, and in one or two instances, where the version was hopelessly bad and it was not possible to distinguish the mistakes of the printer from those of the translator, I have chosen to leave the text as I found it, merely calling attention to its general inaccuracy. I have found few versions of of this prayer, not printed at a mission press or under the eye of the translator, which were free from typographical errors. Even in that great philological museum, the *Mithridates* of Adelung and Vater, the Algonkin specimens are by no means well preserved. Some six or seven errors appear in the reprint of one Shawano version (33) and the division of its last three clauses is mistaken, the sixth and seventh petitions being joined as one, and a new seventh borrowed from the first words of the doxology. In the copy of Edwards's Mohegan (13), taken at second hand from the *American Museum*, are eight errors; six, at least, in the Massachusetts of Eliot, and in Zeisberger's Delaware (from Loskiel) four, besides an important omission of two words in the last clause.

* In the library of Mr. James Lenox, New York. The other copy is in the British Museum.

In many of these versions, perhaps in nearly all of them, mistakes may be found for which neither printers nor editors are responsible. The translations are of unequal merit. There is a wide difference between Massé's Montagnais version of 1632 and the last revision of the Nipissing-Algonkin version of the mission at Kanachtageng. The latter, with a few others, in dialects which have been studied by generation after generation of missionaries for a century or two, and with the assistance of educated natives, may be regarded as nearly perfect. But the greater number were first essays at translation into languages which the translators did not yet well understand. That they did not always succeed in giving the precise meaning at which they aimed, or that the rules of Indian grammar were often violated, is not to be wondered at. On the contrary, it is surprising, the difficulties of the task considered, that so much has, on the whole, been so well done. Absolute mastery of an Indian tongue is, for one to whom it is not vernacular, the work of a life-time. "Neither have I yet fully beat it out," — John Eliot confessed, after twenty-five years' study of the mystery of Algonkin verbs. "Ils ont une richesse si importune qu'elle me jette quasi dans la créance que je seray pauvre toute ma vie en leur langue," — wrote Father Paul Le Jeune from Canada in 1634: "Je *jargonne* néantmoins, et à force de crier je me fais entendre." And the first missionaries all 'jargonned' long before they learned to speak or write correctly any Indian language. Under what disadvantages their studies were prosecuted need not be pointed out. They had no competent interpreters, and the Indians, generally, were not "apt to teach." "I must ask twenty questions to learn the meaning of one word," says Le Jeune, "so little inclined is my teacher to give instruction, and at every new difficulty I encounter, I must give him a piece of tobacco, to gain his attention." And sometimes the teacher was mischievous and played cruel tricks at the expense of his spiritual guides — as one of the pioneers in Canadian missions* sadly, yet not without a touch of humor, relates: "These savages have no settled religion and no words or forms

* Biard's *Relation de la Nouvelle France* (1611).

of speech suited to religious expression: 'holy, blessed, angel, grace, mystery, sacrament, temptation, faith, law, government,' etc. — what resource have you in a language which is destitute of all such words, or how can you do without them? *O Dieu, que nous devisons à nostre aise en France!* . . . . And the savages often make sport of us instead of teaching us, and sometimes they give us indecent phrases (*paroles déshonnètes*) which we innocently go on preaching as the beautiful words of the gospel. God knows who have been the instigators of such sacrilege as this!" And yet the interpreter may have been guiltless and have fallen on the "paroles déshonnètes" while doing his best to translate words he did not understand into a language which had no forms of speech to express their meaning. Such mistakes are familiar to the experience of almost every missionary. When the Jesuits established, in 1845, the mission of St. Ignatius among the Selish Kaluspels and Pend d'Oreilles on Clark River, they found these Indians "utterly ignorant of spiritual things; they had no idea of a future State, or of a Great Spirit, neither had they any idea of a soul. . . . In the beginning the priests were obliged to depend upon the imperfect translations of half breed interpreters. The word 'soul' was singularly translated to the Indians by telling them that they had a gut which never rotted, and that this was their living principle or *soul.*"*

Some of the ancient versions, though generally less accurate than those which are more recent, have an incidental value in the evidence they give of the constancy of Indian dialects — a subject to which I must here only briefly allude. Similar testimony is borne by every old vocabulary, by geographical and local names which come to us from the sixteenth century, by all that early missionaries tell us of the peculiarities of Algonkin dialects, and by such specimens of these dialects as can be gleaned from the annual Relations of the Jesuits and from the narratives of discoverers and explorers of New France. Not that these languages more than

* Gov. Stevens's Report on the Indians of Washington Territory, in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1854. (p. 420.)

others have been exempt from the operation of the law of decay and growth. In the course of two or three centuries some changes have doubtless been wrought in Algonkin forms of inflection and transition, old words have been dropped and new syntheses framed. In the frequent migrations of tribes, in the isolation of clans, by the gathering of remnants of nations in new communities, and as a result of long subjection to foreign influence, local dialects may have sprung up. But that changes by dialectic growth and phonetic decay have been more rapid or more extensive in North American than in European languages, I find no good reason for asserting.

The order in which the following versions are arranged is nearly the same that Mr. Gallatin adopted in his Introduction to Hale's Vocabularies. I have placed by themselves the dialects which have been called "Delaware" — one of which, at least, seems to have closer affinity with languages of the interior than with those of the Atlantic seaboard. There is less difference between the dialects of New England and the Powhatan of Virginia, than between either of these and the "Lenni-Lenape" of Zeisberger.

EASTERN.

1.	Micmac (Gaspesian),	New Brunswick.
2.	"	Cape Breton?
3.	"	Nova Scotia.
4.	Milicite (Etchemin),	St. John's River.
5.	"	Nova Scotia.
6.	Abnaki, Passamaquoddy,	
7.	" "	
8.	" Penobscot,	
9.	" Canniba,	St. Francis.
10.	Massachusetts.	
11.	Connecticut, Niantic?	
12.	" Pequot-Mohegan?	
13.	Mohegan, Housatonic,	Stockbridge.
14.	" "	"
15.	Quiripi,	near New Haven, Conn.

DELAWARE.

16. Renapi, of New Sweden, Delaware Bay and River.
17. Lenni Lenape, Northern Pennsylvania.

NORTHERN.

18. Cree or Knisteno, Red River.
19. " Saskatchewun.
20(*a*, *b*, *c*), " Red River and Northern.
21. Montagnais, Quebec, 1632.
22. " Saguenay, 1767.

LAKE REGION.

23. Nipissing-Algonkin, Lake of the Two Mountains.
24. Chippeway, South of Lake Superior.
25. " Northern,
26. " Missisauga,
27. " South of Lake Superior.
28. Ottawa, East Shore of Lake Michigan.
29. " Indian Territory.
30. Potawatomi, St. Joseph's River.
31. " Council Bluffs, Mo.
32. Menomoni, Wolf River, Wisconsin.

SOUTH WESTERN.

33. Shawano, Miami River?
34. " "
35. " Indian Territory.
36. Illinois, Peouaria, Northern Illinois.
37. " ? Indian Territory.

NORTH WESTERN.

38. Sitsika or Blackfeet.

The authorities on which I have chiefly relied are indicated in the notes on the several versions. To one or another of the following works, references will be found on almost every page: Eliot's translation of the Bible in the Massachusetts dialect, in the edition of 1685 (El.), and his "Indian Grammar Begun," 1666 (El. Gr.); Roger Williams's "Key into the Language of America" (R. W.) in the dialect of Narraganset, which does not much differ from that of Massachusetts;

Edwards's "Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians" of Stockbridge, Mass., first printed in 1788 (Edw.); Maillard's "Grammaire Mikmaque" (M.); Rasles' "Dictionary of the [Canniba dialect of the] Abnaki Language," edited by J. Pickering (Rasles, or R.); Baraga's "Otchipwe Dictionary" (Bar.) and "Otchipwe Grammar" (Bar. Gr.), and the American Bible Society's last revision of the "Ojibwa Testament"; Howse's Cree Grammar (Howse); "Études Philologiques sur quelques Langues Sauvages de l'Amérique, par N. O., ancien missionaire," Montreal, 1866, and the "Jugement Erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les Langues Sauvages," by the same author — a learned Sulpitian, lately of the mission of the Lake of the Two Mountains, near Montreal, whose valuable contributions to the knowledge of North American languages I have ventured to cite by a name (Cuoq) which does not appear on their title-pages.

1. MICMAC.

From *Mithridates*, Th. III. Abth. 3, p. 401, where it was printed from a MS. letter of Veyssière de La Croze, to H. Bartsch of Königsberg, written between 1717 and 1728.* The ū stands for Germ. *u* long (the 8 of the Jesuit missionaries and ꝏ of Eliot).

Ūchiek ūaiok ebin:

1. Kehijūrek kech kermūrek ignemūiek.
2. Ooiok evidadeziben ignemūiek.
3. Chaktūrideziben ignemūiek telamokchitich oaiok ekkik chaktachkik.
4. Kichkū nir ūnan echimūiek ndo echimideziben markodemideziben.
5. Ūinsoudi mū ktigariū telamok ūinsoudi dnūigik ninen mū ktigariock.
6. Mū to tentationka pemiedeziben ignemūiek.
7. Merūich kechinogūambil ūinchigil tūaktuiek.

Telek eta Jesūs.

As translated:

"Omnium-rerum-creator in cœlis habitans: [1] Te-amare et honorare da-nobis; [2] In-cœlum ut-eamus da-nobis. [3]Ut tibi-simus-obedientes da-nobis quemadmo-

* *Mithridates*, Th. i. (*Anhang*) p. 667. In a letter from Bayer to La Croze, in 1719 (for knowledge of which I am indebted to Professor Abbot of Harvard) this version "Gaspesianorum seu Crucioctonum" is referred to, as already known to J. L. Frisch, by whom it may have been communicated to La Croze. *Thesaurus Epistol. Lacrozianus*, vol. i., p. 44.

dum in-cœlis tibi obedientia præstatur. [4] Hodie nostram escam da-nobis-manducandam tunc habentes-ad-manducandam manducabimus. [5] Peccatorum non recorderis sicut peccatorum in-nos hominum non recordamur. [6] (Ut) non in tentationem intremus da-nobis, [7] potius malas cogitationes procul-a-nobis repelle. Sit ita, o-Jesu."

After large allowance for errors of transcription and the press (compare *ūaiok*, *ooiok*, *oaiok*,—three forms of the same word, for "in cœlis"), it is evident that the translator's knowledge of the Micmac language was very slight. Of the inflections or transitions of verbs he seems to have known nothing. Maillard's paradigms* enable us to point out and correct some of the more obvious errors of this version. *Ignemūiek*, which stands in the 1st, 2d, and 3d petitions, for "da nobis," is in the *indicative present*, 2d∼1st person, and means 'thou givest me,' or 'you give us,'—and the form requires an inanimate object in the *singular*. It is from the verb *ignemœey* I give (M. 56). For "da nobis," the proper form is *ignemūin*. *Evidadeziben* (a misprint for *erida-* or *elida-* from *eliey* 'I go,' M. 91), *chaktūrideziben* (from *chaktem* 'I obey,' M. 57), *echimideziben* from *echemœey* 'I give to eat,' M. 93), *markodemideziben* (from *malkodem* 'I eat it,' M. 62), and *pemiedeziben* (from *pemaœley* 'I conduct,' M. 56), have the termination (*-kcheben*, M.) which belongs to the 2d pers. pl. of the conditional preterit. *Echimūiek*, in the 4th petition, and *tūaktūiek*, in the 7th, are in the indicative, and signify, respectively, 'thou givest us to eat' and 'thou castest out' (from *teœaχtœey*† "je jette dehors," M. 93)—*not* 'give thou to us' and 'cast out from us.' *Kichkū* (4th pet.) means '*dies*,' not '*hodie*'; the adverbial form is *kichkūk* 'on a day', i. e. to-day (M. 28).

Ūchiek (in the Latin translation, "omnium rerum creator") has the transition-form of 2d sing.∼1st pl., from the root *ūch* (Mass. *wutche*, *œtchi*, Abn. *œtsi*, Chip. *ondji*) 'from, by, out of.' From this root come the name for 'father' and the

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* *Grammaire de la langue Mikmaque, par l'abbé Maillard, redigée par* J. M. Bellenger. (J. G. Shea, New York, 1864.)

† Maillard uses the italic *k* (for which I substitute *χ*) as "rather a sign of strong aspiration than a letter," and says, "our aspirated *h* might be substituted for it." Father Demilier (*Ann. de la Propagation*, viii. 197) observes that the Micmac language has an agreeable sound "though almost wholly made up of gutturals."

primary verbs signifying 'to proceed from, or out of,' 'to have as a cause or origin,' and, actively, 'to cause, originate,' 'to *from*,' 'to father' (Mass. *noh wutchu* . . . . *nish wame* "of him are all things," Rom. xi. 36; Abn. *kia œtsi* "tu es cause que; c'est à cause de toi"): *uchiek* means 'thou art the cause of us,' 'thou *from*-est us,' the form being that of the indicative — not of the conditional 'thou who art' or 'thou *as*,' &c. This invocation, literally translated, is: 'Thou art the cause of us, in brightness thou who sittest.'

4. *Nirūnan* 'our provision,' what we provide (or receive) for food. In version 2a we have the same word with the termination of the possessive, *nilūnem*, and in v. 2b the inan. plural, *nilunal*. 5. *Ūinsoudi* is in the singular: its plural appears in version 2, as *winsudil:* the root *win* signifies, primarily, 'unclean,' 'impure,' and in composition often, 'bad,' 'disagreeable': *œiniei* 'je suis souillé,' *œini keguinamœei* 'j'instruis mal' (Maill.): comp. Chip. *winia* 'I defile, make unclean,' *winisi* 'he is dirty, impure' (Bar.). *Dnūigik ninen* cannot mean "in nos hominum": perhaps we should read *lnœigik ninen*: *ninen* is the excl. plural of *nil* 'I me,' and *l'nœ* 'man' makes *l'nœkik* in the plural preterit. 6. *Tentationka* is evidently transferred from the French or Latin, receiving here the postposition of the locative.

Telek from *tèli* 'so' (*dèli*, *dèleg* 'it is so,' Maill. 26): *eta* 'thus, so,' unless it stands here for the 3d sing. future (*idal*, M.) of *edek* 'it is,' i. e. is *so*.

2(a). MICMAC.

Rev. C. Kauder, R. C. missionary, 1861 (accompanying "Micmac or Recollet Hieroglyphics," *Historical Magazine*, vol. v., p. 289). The vowels as in German: *w* for *œ* or *ū*.

Nutschinen wasok ebin:

1. Tschiptuk deluisin mekidedemek;
2. Wasok n'telidanen tschiptuk igenemuiek ula nemulek uledessenen;
3. Nadel wasok eikik deli-skedask, tschiptuk elp ninen deli-skedulek magamikek eimek.
4. Delamugubenikel essemiekel apseh nigetsch kiskuk delamuktetsch penegunemuin nilunal;

5. Deli-abisiktaksik wegaiuinamedenik, elp kil Nikskam deli -abisiktuin elueultiek ;
6. Melkenin metsch winsudil mu k'tigalinen,
7. Kesinukwamkel winschikel kokwel tuachtuin.
N'deliatsch.

2(b). MICMAC.

The same version, in a different phonetic notation, from Vetromile's *Indian Good Book*,* p. 225. Also printed, with an interlinear English translation — which is full of errors — in Vetromile's *The Abnakis and their History* (New York, 1866), p. 43. *W* and *oo* stand for *ū* (*œ*); *k* (italic) for Germ. *ch*; *j* and *ch*, for *s* of the preceding version.

Nuschinen wajòk ebin :
1. Tchiptook delwigin meguidèdemek ;
2. Wajok n'telidànen tchiptook ignemwiek, ula nemùlek uledèchinen ;
3. Nàtèl wajok deli ch*k*edulk, tchiptook deli ch*k*edulek makamiguek eimek ;
4. Delamùkubeniguel echimièguel, apch neguèch kichkook delamuktech penegunnemwin nilùnem ;
5. Deli abikchikta*k*achik wègaiwinametnik, elkpil [elk kel] deli abikchiktwin elwèultiek ;
6. Melkenin mech winnchudil mu k'tygàlinen ;
7. Keginu*k*amkel winnchiguel twa*k*twin.
N'delietch.

As translated in the Historical Magazine :

"Our-Father light thou-art-sitting: [1] May as-those-art named honored. [2] Heaven that we-go may us-give there we-see-thee we-will-be-happy. [3] There [in]-heaven they-are as-they-obey-thee may also we so-we-obey-thee, [on]-earth we-are. [4] The-same-food us-thou-hast-given again now to-day the-same-food to us let-come for-our-nourishment. [5] As-we-pardon who-have-been-angry-with-us, also thou Great-Spirit thou-us-pardon sinners. [6] Us-strengthen never-again bad-things not we-are-brought. [7] Evils bad of-every-kind remove-from-us. That is true."

Vetromile's Translation :

"Our-Father in-heaven seated. [1] May thy-name be-respected. [2] In-heaven to-us may grant thee to-see in-staying. [3] There in-heaven as thou-art-obeyed may so-be-obeyed on earth where-we-are. [4] As-thou-hast-given-it-to-us in-the-same-manner also now to-day give-it our-nourishment to-us. [5] [As-] we-forgive-them who-have-offended-us so thou O-God forgive our-faults. [6] Hold-us-strong by-the-hand not to-fall. [7] Keep-far-from-us sufferings, evils. Amen."

Nuschinen (*n'œschinen*, M.) 'our father'; from *œtch*, with 1st pl. pronominal affixes. *Wajok* (*wasok* in vers. 2 a) means 'where brightness, or light, is,' 'in the light': *œajokœek*

* *Alnambay Uli Awikhigan. Indian Good Book*, made by Eugene Vetromile, S. J., Indian Patriarch, &c. (3d edition, New York, 1858.)

'light,' '*œajokoœi* 'I am light' (M.). Comp. Abn. *œasoé* 'the sun shines,' *œasséghen* 'it is clear,' with *œasaghéio* "vacué," *œasagaïœi* "inaniter, vide" (Rasles): Chip. *wássa* 'far off, very distant,' and *wásséia* 'light,' 'it is light.' From the same root, probably, come *waskutsh* in the Montagnais version (22), *aûsequamuk* in the Quiripi, and the Delaware *awossagame*. *Ebin* (2d pers. sing. cond. pres. of *abi*) 'thou who sittest' or 'remainest at rest': Mass. *ápean* ("thou that sittest," El. in Jer. xxii. 2), Del. *epian*, Alg. & Cree *epian*. Maillard wrote *œajok eimeligel* for "qui est au ciel," the verb being formed from *eim* "je suis" — more correctly, 'j'y suis,' 'I am in or at' a place named.

1. "May thy-naming be remembered,' 'found-in-mind.' *Delwigin* 'as thou art called' or 'thy so-calling'; *delwigit* 'as he is called,' 'his name' (Vetrom. 501, 385). *Mekidèdemek* is from *mekidedem* (*miguidedem*, V. 401) 'I remember,' literally, 'find in mind,' Chip. *mikwendam*, Abn. *mi'kœitéha^{n}-damen*. The form, in *-mek*, is that which Maillard gives as the infinitive present. The same word is used in a Micmac Te Deum, given by Vetromile, where *k'maldemek pegili meguidèdemek* stands for 'thy-blood most *precious*' (p. 500).

2. Vetromile's translation is all wrong here; the other is nearly correct. *N'telidànen* is from *eliey* 'I go,' 1st pl. pres. subjunctive, *or* infinitive future: *ula* (*œla*, M.) is a demonstrative adverb, 'there, in that place': *nemùlek*, the so-called participle of the verb *nemik* 'I see' (an animate object), means 'we having seen thee' or 'we when seeing thee.' 'To-heaven that-we-go mayest thou-grant-us, where we-seeing-thee we-will-be-happy.'

3. *Natel* (*natail*, Howse*) 'yonder,' 'in that place.' Vetromile omits *eikik* 'they [who] are' and *elp ninen* 'so also we.' *Eikik* is 1st plural and *eimek* 1st plur. of *eim* 'I am there.' *Dèli*, an adverb meaning 'such as,' 'so,' is a common prefix: as in *delwigin* 'thy so-naming,' in the final *n'deliatsch* 'I so wish,' and six times before verbs in the 3d, 4th, and 5th petitions. *Chχedulk*, *chχedulek*, are from *chaktem* (with anim.

* Vocabulary of "Language of the New Brunswick Indians," in *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, vol. iv. (1850), pp. 104—112.

obj. *chaktœl*) 'I obey' (M. 57); comp. *nemùlek*, above. *Makamigueœ* 'the earth,' *maχamiguek* 'on the earth,' is compounded of *ma* (*maœ*, Maill. 31) 'all together,' 'the whole,' and the generic *-kamigé* 'place': comp. Abn. *ketakamigœ* 'main land,' literally, 'greatest place.'

4. Neither translation is correct. In fact, the Micmac is untranslatable. What it was intended to mean is this: 'As we-have-eaten-that which-thou-givest-us-to-eat, again now to-day so-let-us-eat [bread ?] to-nourish-us.' *Dela-mùkubeniguel* and *dela-muktech*, are forms of *deli-malkœdem* 'I so eat' (Maill. 62): comp. *markodem-ideziben*, in vers. 1: *-ben* is the characteristic of the preterit; *-el* final requires an inanimate object. *Echemièguel* (from *echemœey* 'I give to eat') is the object of the preceding verb: see Maillard (94), "Du verbe regime, alors un des verbes devient nominatif et l'autre accusatif," each receiving change of form. *Penegunemuin* is of uncertain origin, but seems to be derived from a word sometimes used for 'bread,'—*peneguik*, and in the Micmac catechism, as printed by Vetromile (*Good Book*, 391, 393), *peneguik-took* 'of bread'; though *pibenakan* 'bread' is more common (M. 39, V. 393). *Nilunal* is not the plural of the pronoun 'to us,' but a plural noun-inanimate, or verbal, meaning 'our provisions,' 'supply of food': comp. *nirūnan* "nostram escam" (vers. 1), *nīlœnĕn* (v. 3).

5. *Abìkchikt-aχachik* and *-win*, from *abikchiktœey* 'I pardon,' literally, 'I completely wipe away, blot out, efface.' The prefix, *abi*, is intensive. The root *kchik*, *ksik*, appears in Mass. *chiskham* 'he sweeps,' 'wipes,' Del. *tschiskham*, id., Chip. *gássiig-ade* 'it is blotted out, pardoned,' and *tchigataige* 'he sweeps.' *Elp* 'moreover, also'; *kil* 'thou' (not *elk kel;* nor *elpkil*, in one word, as in Vetr. 225). *Nikskam* (*nixkam*, V.), introduced in vers. 2, is a word which the missionaries understood to mean 'spirit' and appropriated as a name for God*: *Kchi Nixkam* 'Great Spirit,' *Wegi-Uli-Nixkam* 'from Good Spirit' or 'Good Spirit proceeding from,' for the third person of the Trinity (Vetr. 365, 366): Abn.

* Biard says *Niscaminou* was a name of the Sun, which the Indians of Acadie regarded as a god.—*Relation* (1616), p. 20.

niœéskœ 'spirit,' *ketsi-niœeskœ* 'the Great Spirit' (Rasles). Maillard uses *Kijœlk* ('the Creator') for 'God.'

6. *Melkenin* 'strengthen us,' 'make us firm'; from root *melki* 'hard, strong, firm' (Abn. *merké*, Mass. *menukki*), *melkei* 'I am firm, hard'; *melkalœey* 'I strengthen, make secure' (M. 26, 87). *Metsch*, *mech*, 'more,' 'again.' *Winsudil* (*winnchudil* V.) inan. pl. of *Œinsœdi;* see vers. 1: Vetromile's translation, "by the hand," is a strange mistake. *Mu k'tigalinen*, from *ygaie* 'je heurte' (Maill. 47), for the negative form of the subj. pres. 1st plur., but the sign of the *inclusive* plural, *k'ty-*, is improperly used for *n'ty-* (nous *autres*).

7. The two English translations disagree — and Vetromile's is wrong — in every word: comp. vers. 1. *Winchiguel kokwel* (the plural of *kokwei* 'something)' means 'bad things'; *tuachtuin*, or *twaktwin* as in vers. 1, from *teœχtœey* "je jette dehors" (M. 93), means 'cast out from us'; *keginuχamkel* (*kechinogūambil* "malæ cogitationes," vers. 1) is less clear.

N'deliatsch 'be it so'; see, above, pet. 3, *dèli*.

3. MICMAC.

From The Gospel according to Saint Matthew, printed for the use of the Micmac Mission by the British and Foreign Bible Society (*Charlottetown*, 1853). Transliterated from the "phonetic alphabet" used in that version.*

Nœochīnĕn tan wasok eyumun:

1. Sabewadăsich ukwīsœnumu.
2. Uktĕlīgewitewœdim chœgœīăch.
3. Ukœlīdedakunum tulīach makumīgĕk stugech tĕlīak wasogu.
4. Tesīgiskugewe nīlœnĕn ĸīskœk igunumœin.
5. Ăk tulī-abiksiktumœin n'tĕtădimkeweumīnulu, stugech nīnĕn tĕlī-abiksiktakujiĸ taniĸ tĕtœ-inămujiĸ.
6. Ak mœ ulīguldakunin asimtimkeweiktuĸ;
7. Kadœ œtalkalin winsœdiĸtœogu.
8. Mudu ĸīl wedălīgămin ĕlīgewagī, ak mulgigunodī, ak ukpumīdĕlsœdī, yăpchœou. Amen.

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* Pronounce: *a* as in *alms; ă* as in *am; e* as *a* in *age; ĕ* as in *edge; ī* as *e* in *eat; i* as in *it; o* as in *open; œ* as *oo* in *food; u* as in *up* (the neutral short vowel which some writers represent by *a*, others by *v*, and others by an apostrophe

'Our-Father who in-light dwellest.' *Tan* (pl. *tanik*) is used here and in the 5th petition as a relative, 'who,' and was so classed by Maillard (Gr. 21), though it is properly a demonstrative and interrogative; Mass. *toh*, Narrag. *tou*, *ta?* where? what? *tunna* 'whence'? Cree *tàna* 'which'? *tàn-itte* 'where'? Del. *ta*, *tani?* *Eyumun* (*eïmen*, Maill.), 2d pers. indicative present from *eyum* (*eïm*, M.) 'I am there'; *tan wasok ehk* 'he who is in heaven,' Matt. v. 16.

1. 'Let-it-be-thought-holy thy-name'—seems to be the meaning intended; but the verb is of questionable origin and form. The author of this version of Matthew uses *sǎbewit* and (inan.) *sǎbewik* for 'holy,' 'just,' 'righteous,' i. 19, vii. 6, *sǎbewooltīyīk* "the righteous" (plur.) ix. 13; and so, Vetromile in Ps. cxi. 3, *chebèwit* 'righteous.' Maillard translates the same participle, *chabeœit*, by "sage." It is from the equivalent of Mass. *sampwi* = Lat. rectus (used by Eliot for 'straight,' 'right, just, righteous,' &c.) and of Abn. *sanbiœi* 'fairly, justly,' "sans feinte" (R.): *sǎbewit* is properly used in Matt. i. 19 for 'a just man'; the derived verb *sĕbewadasi* (*chabeœidachi* Maill.) means 'to think it just, or right,'—not 'to think it *holy*.' *N'wīsœnum* 'my name' (xviii. 20); *tel-œīsit* 'named,' i. e. '*so* called' (x. 2: comp. Mass. *wesuonk* 'calling,' 'name'): *k'wīsœnumu* 'thy name'; the pronom. prefix (*k*) "se prononce *eŭk*, très bref" (Maill. 11), or as this translator writes it, *uk*.

2. 'Thy-kingdom let-it-come.' *Elīgewit* (*eléguéœit*, M.) 'king'; *œt-elīgewagim* 'his kingdom' (xi. 12) or 'ownership.'

3. 'What-thou-willest be-it-so on-earth as it-is-so in-heaven (place of light).' *Tulīach*, *tĕlīak*, from *tĕlī* (*deli*, v. 2) 'so, such,' *tĕlek* (*dèleg*, M.) 'it is such': *tĕlek stugech* "it is like to," such as (xiii. 31), *tĕlek stuge*, *teleek stuge* (xiii. 24, 33).

4. 'Of-each-day our-nourishment to-day give-us.' *Tesī* (*dech*, M.) as a prefix means 'each' or 'every'; *tesīgiskuk* 'daily' (xxvi. 55). *Nīlœnēn*, see vv. 2, 2b. *Kīskœk* 'to-day' (*kiskœgu*, xvi. 3; *kichkœk*, M.).

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merely); *ch* as in *church;* the consonants as in English. In this phonetic alphabet *c* is marked as "always hard," but in the text both *c* and *k* are used, and *apparently* represent the same sound. I have substituted *k* for the *c* (when not followed by *h*) and distinguished the *k* of the original by a small capital.

5. 'And so-forgive-us our-owings as we so-forgive-them who owe-us.' *Tan tĕtœinu* "what thou owest" me (xviii. 28), *igunumœooch tĕtadimkeweyu* "he forgave [*lit.* gave] him the debt" (V. 27): *tĕtœinu* 'what is owed *to* me,' *tĕtadimku* 'what is owed *by* me.'

6. 'And not lead-us-away temptation-into.' The last word has the common Micmac postposition *iktœk* 'into, within, with, on,' — which, says Maillard "va à merveille à la fin des mots surtout au singulier," but is often contracted to a simple '*k*.

7. 'But keep-us-from what-is-evil.' *Kadœ* = *chkadœ* "cependant" (Maill.), Mass. *qut* 'yet, except that, but' (El.).

8. "For to-thee it-belongs-to kingdom, and strength, and glory (?), Always." *Mudu* = *mœdo* "cependant," Maill. *Wedălīgămin* is incorrect in form; whether used as verb or noun it should have the prefix of the *second* person and the termination *-al* or *'l* of the *inanimate* plural; comp. *aligan*, pl. *aliganal* 'property, goods,' *k'taliguemin'l* or *-gam'l* 'thy goods' (Maill. 18), *œtalīgamul* 'his goods,' Matt. xxv. 14. *Yāpchœu* 'always'; *yapchiœ*, M.

4. MILICITE.

[Indians of St. John's River; *Ulastekuhiek*, "Etchemins" of the French; Mareschites.] From Vetromile's *Good Book*, 71, 579.

N'miktankusena spemkik èyàne:

1. Sangmanwi tetanzit k'tliwizoti.
2. Tchibetook witcheyulèku.
3. Tanne etutchi saktask spemook, tchibatook na etutchi saktask k'tahkamikook.
4. N'pipenakan mina ena messiwi ghiskahkil weulinamekil elmighiskak n'pètsamièku.
5. Wenwekahinewinemet eli weulitelmoghet, kil na wekayulèku eli weulitehelmine.
6. Klotemwine katawi aneyulièku.
7. Melwas mètch ahikik mikokemièku ayma te tahantamwine.

Tè èleyt.

Vetromile gives this as a specimen of "pure Mareschite," copied from "an ancient manuscript." Whatever difference of speech may formerly have been between the 'Etchemins'

of St. John's River and of Passamaquoddy Bay, the remnants of the two tribes now use substantially the same language, and a prayer (v. 6) which Vetromile prints on one page as "pure Passamaquoddy" appears on another as "Mareschite, that is, in St. John's Indian language" (*Good Book*, 20, 268). In an old MS. volume (more particularly described in a note after version 8) I find among prayers in "Marichit," another form of the above version, in which the Canniba *r* takes the place of Vetromile's "pure Mareschite" *l*, except in one word, *mailois* (=*melwas*) in the seventh petition; and some other peculiarities of local dialect are perhaps to be detected under the disguise of the writer's strange spelling. He used, indifferently, *c* and *qu* for *k* (but his *c* is soft before *e*), and *v* for Engl. *w* consonant (which I have substituted, in printing):

4(b). MILICITE.

* Quemitangousna spemquic eyn:

1. Sagmani todaso triuisodi.
2. Chiptoc ouichayorec.
3. Tanaitochei sactoceque spomoc, chiptoc natochei sactorec quetacmigouc.
4. Tepeipenognepin meceiu quisgaquir uecouareine nemequir ermequiscac smin.
5. Woinoueca yououinemete eriuewoureitermeguet quir na woika yorec eri-woiwoureitermin.
6. Guerotemo ouin catiwounai yortiec.
7. Mailois maijai yguir micocmaiguir aymatatmouin.

Terech.

The invocation is substantially the same as in the Penobscot-Abnaki. 1. *Sangmanwi* (*sagamowee*, Rand) is from *sangman*, "the title which the Indians give to the first chief of the tribe, and" (according to Vetromile, *Good Book*, 278) "it means Over-the-whole-World." It is, in fact, the name which has been anglicized as 'sagamore' and 'sachem,' and means, simply, a 'chief,' 'one who has precedence.' Some of the missionaries used it for 'lord,' 'sovereign,' &c.;

* *Qu* (*K'*) of the *inclusive* plural is wrongly used for *N'* of the *exclusive;* see note after versions 8, 9.

k'sangmàn'mena Zezus "our Sangman Jesus" (Vetr. 281) *sangmanwi Malial* (Hymn, *id.* 192) and *sangmanskwèwi Malial* 'female-sangman Mary (217); Micmac, *chakmau* (*chaχman*, M.) and *k'chakmaminen* (id. 438). The Canadian missionary, P. Le Jeune, says, of *sagamo*, "I believe this word came from Acadie. The true [Montagnais] word is *oukhimau*" (Relation, 1633, p. 8); comp. Chip. *ogimá*. *K'tliwizoti* (*kalawazùti* and *-zoti*, Vetr. 206, 190) 'thy name,' 'what thou callest thyself'; *telewēsotēk*, v. 5: but the form is incorrect, for *t* in the last syllable marks the name as belonging to an *inanimate* object: comp. Abn. *èliwiziyin*, *aliwisian*, vv. 7, 8. *Tetanzit* (*todaso*, v. 4b) stands for Fr. 'soit,' and is manufactured from the inanimate demonstrative (Abn. *tanni*) with the mark of the future imperative, to give the meaning, "Chief let-it-be (or, become) thy-name.'

2. *Tchibatook* (*cheeptooke*, Rand), as in Micmac, is a strong affirmative, used only with regard to future or conditional action: Abn. *tsœbatœi* "vraiment, oui" (Râle). *Witchiyulèku* 'come to us' (*from* the place where thou art): the root denotes 'coming from,' and does not necessarily imply 'coming to' the speaker: Micm. *tān œegien* 'whence thou comest' (Maill. 22); Mass. *wutchaiyeu* 'he comes from,' *toh wadchiit* 'whence he comes' (El.); Chip. *odishi* and *ondashan* 'come hither' (Bar.). The verb is here in the imperative, 2d sing. Other forms occur in the Milicite prayers and hymns printed by Vetromile: *wètchi uleyàn* 'thou who comest,' *wètchi ulèyt* 'he who comes' (Veni Creator, p. 206).

3. *Tanne etutchi . . . na etuchi*, 'as it is there . . . so be it here.' *Saktask* (comp. *skedask*, *chχedoolk*, vv. 2, 3), from a verb meaning 'to obey,' the equivalent of Micm. *chaktem*, Abn. *ne-kiktam*. *Spèmook*, *spemkik*, 'in heaven,' literally, 'on high': *spemk te k'tahkemiku* 'heaven and earth' (Vetr. 307) and *spemook*, *ktahkamikook* (id. 190): see Abnaki versions.

4. *N'pipenakan'mina* 'our bread': Micmac *pipenakan* (Vetr. 393), *pibenokun* (Rand). In the Milicite Catechism (Vetr. 333, 334) *hepane* stands for 'bread,' = Abn. *aba^{n}n*; see vv. 6, 7, post. *Messiwi* 'all, every' (Abn. *messiœi*).

Ghiskakil 'days,' inan. pl. of *ghiskak* (Mass. *kesukok*, Chip. *gajigak*) 'when it is day,' 'the day-time'; *elmighiskak* 'during *this* day, to-day,' = Abn. *érmekizegak* (R.).

N'petsamièku was intended to express 'give us': comp. Abn. *ne-piscœ̈miran* 'I give it him, gratuitously,' and Micm. *pepcheiœi* 'I give him.' But the prefixed pronoun cannot properly be used with the imperative, and the verb itself is not well chosen,—'I give to eat' being always expressed in Algonkin, by a single verb.

5. *Wèulitèhèlmine* 'pardon us' (comp. Abn. *nœriteha^{n}ma^{n}* 'I pardon him' (R.), is found in prayers &c. in the three dialects, Micmac, Milicite, and Abnaki (see Vetr. *Good Book*, 103, 183, 218, 45, &c.): *weulitelmanètch* 'pardon thou' (id. 214): *k'weùlitelmukunussa* 'thou who pardonest.' *Wekayuléku* (*weghiheuku*, V. 349) 'we do wrong' to others: *wekahinewinemet* 'who does wrong to us'? Comp. *wègaiwinametnik*, vers. 3; and Abn. *n'œéghihœghé* 'he does me wrong,' *n'œéghiha^{n}* 'I do him wrong' (R.).

5. MILICITE.

Rev. S. T. Rand, in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, &c, vol. v., p. 592.

Metoxsen'a spumkēk ayeën

1. Sagamowē telmoxse'en telewēsotēk.
2. Chēptooke wēcheyulēk
3. Spumkēk taun etoochē sauktoolēk spŭmakaye'en.
4. Tooēpnauknamēn kesekēsskahkēl wekayeulēk elmekēskaak kēlmetsmin awoolē.
6. Mahatemooin katē aléwanayoolte'ek
7. Elmas wechēakēl mekokemaykēl nemahatehumtoomooin.

I have substituted *ē* for Mr. Rand's double *ee*, and omitted the hyphens between syllables. His vowels have apparently the English sounds. Schoolcraft prints this version in four clauses, marked by the four periods I have retained, and without other punctuation or separation of the petitions. The third petition is incomplete, the fifth is omitted, and the whole is so thick-strewed with errors of copy that time given to its examination would be wasted.

Mr. Rand was a Protestant missionary to the Indians of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He contributed to School-

craft's *Indian Tribes* (vol. v., pp. 578–589), a vocabulary of the Micmac language, and (vol. v., pp. 690, 691) a table of Milicite numerals. I regret my inability to procure a corrected copy of this version.

6. ABNAKI.

PASSAMAQUODDY.

From Vetromile's *Good Book*, p. 268, where it is said to be taken from "an old manuscript belonging (as Mr. Vetromile thought) to Rev. Sebastian Rasles." On p. 20, the same version is given, as "in Mareschite [Milicite] language." See note on Milicite v. 4.

N'miktakusen spemkik èhine:

1. Sagmanwelmegudets èliwiziyìn.
2. Ketepeltemwaghen petzussewitch.
3. Keteleltemwaghen uli tsiksetagudets yuttel ktahkemigook tahalo te spemkik.
4. Miline tekètch bemghiskak etaskiskwè n'tapanemen,
5. Te anehèltemohuyeku n'twabellokewaghenenuūl tahalo nilon èli aneheltemohuyeku 'ewabellokedjik.
6. Te ekkwi losseline unemiotwaghenek.
7. Wedji ghighihine tannik mèdzikkil.

Nialetch.

7. ABNAKI.

PASSAMAQUODDY.

Vetromile, 578, as "pure Abnaki," from "an ancient manuscript." "Every vowel marked with an accent has a nasal sound." The dialect does not differ materially from that of the preceding version, though the writers did not agree in their phonetic notation.

Nemitòksena spemkik aiian:

1. Sògmòwalmeguadich aliwisian.
2. Ketebaldamwògan pàiòmwich.
3. Kalaldamwògan likitòguadich tali kik tahòlawi tali spemkik.
4. Nòmilina[1] nikuòbi pamgiskak nedattosgiskuè abònmena.
5. Ta anahaldamawina nebalalòkawògaunenewal tahòlawi niuna ali anahaldamawòàk palikadòguagik.
6. Ta akui losalina wenemihoduòganek.
7. Weji kaduinahadaki tèni majigek.

Nialach.

[1] Misprinted, for *Mòmilina?*

8. ABNAKI.

PENOBSCOT.

Rev. Edmond Demilier, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. viii., p. 197 (Nov. 1835), where it is printed without punctuation, capitals, or division by petitions. It is full of errors, which I have not attempted to correct, except by interlining the same version nearly, in a different orthography, from Vetromile's *Good Book*, p. 19.

Kemitanksena spomkik ayan :
K'mitanqsenà spomkik eyan :

1. Waiwaiselmoguatch ayiliwisian.
   Weweselmoquotch eliwisian.
2. Amantai paitriwai witawaikai ketepéltamohaugeneck.
   Amànte neghè petsiwewitawekpane ketepeltamohanganèck.
3. Aylikitankouak ketelailtamohangan spomkik tali yo nampikik paitchi kiktankouataitche.
   Eli kìktanguàk ket'letamohàngan spomkik tali yo nampikìk petchikiktanguatetche.
4. Mamilinai yo paimi ghisgak daitaskiskouai aipoumena.
   Mamilìne yo pemighisgàk ètaskikué n'tapònmenà.
5. Yopa hatchi anaihailtama wihaikai kaissikakau wihiolai-kaipan aliniona kisi anaihailtamakokaik kaikauwia kaitaipanik.
   Yopahatchi aneheldamawihèk kessi kakanwihiole-k'pan, èli nyona kisi aneheldamahokèt kekanwia-k'tepanik.
6. Mosak kaita litchi kitawikaik tampamohoutchi saghihou-neminamai.
   Mosak ketali tchikiktawighèk tamambâutchi saghihun-mihinam'ke.
7. Oulahamistakai saghihousouaminai mamaitchikill.
   Ulamist'kè saghehusuhaminè mematchikil.

   Nialest.
   Nialetch.

Father Demilier came to America in 1833, and was stationed at Pleasant Point (Perry, Me.), on the west side of Passamaquoddy Bay. His letter printed in the *Annales* (l. c.) was written in the spring of 1834, less than a year after his arrival and certainly before he had made great progress in learning the language. The form of prayer, he writes, "is such as is said daily" at the mission, for though the Indians

of Pleasant Point are of the Passamaquoddy tribe, "the Penobscot dialect is, there, what the Latin is in France, the consecrated language." His predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Romagné (who returned to France in 1825) left a little book of prayers, in manuscript, and this was printed for the use of the mission early in 1834. From it, probably, Demilier took this version; but he complains that the book was full of errors, and that he "had to undertake a new work, going through all the prayers with the Indians, to compare and correct them."

A small volume of prayers, in manuscript, which may have been Romagné's, but probably is of earlier date, is now in the library of Mr. Brinley, of Hartford. It was formerly in the possession of Bishop Cheverus, by whom it was presented to Dr. John Pickering. It contains "Prière du matin, en *Marichit*" (Milicite), "Prière du soir, en *Caniba*," "Catechisme," &c. The Milicite version (4b) of the Pater-noster agrees, for the most part, with Vetromile's "pure Mareschit," but has *r* in place of *l*, &c. The Canniba version, which corresponds to the Penobscot (v. 8) of Demilier and Vetromile, will be found on the next page (v. 9*b*).

9. ABNAKI.

CANNIBA.

From a MS. volume of *Prières des Sauvages Abnakis de St. François;* in the library of Geo. Brinley, Esq.

Nemitta^{n}gœosena spemkik eïan:

1. Sa^{n}ghama^{n} œermegœatets ericœisian.
2. Amanté negai petsi œecœittacœeghesa keteberdamœangan.
3. [*Ari kiktangœak keterérdamœa^{n}gan*] spemkik dari io nanbi kik petsi kiktongœats.
4. Mammiriné io pemkiskak ettassekiskœe abannemena.
5. Ioba atsi anaherdamanœiéghe gheganœihœregheban, eri nicœna anaherdamanked gheganœihiakedebanik.
6. Mœsak dari tsighittacœikkek taumanppa œtsi seoghi aritœangonik.
7. Œronmistaki sagheœsœa^{n}miné mématsighik.

Ni-arets.

This version is nearly the same which Vetromile and Demilier give for the modern Penobscot, but the dialect is

that of the "Cannibas" or Kennebec-Abnakis, among whom Rasles labored and compiled his dictionary. The MS. volume from which it is taken formerly belonged to Dr. Pickering, to whom it was given by Bishop Cheverus. From the general accordance of its phonography with that of Rasles, I infer that it is a copy of a manual prepared by that missionary. It was written, probably, before the middle of the last century. After Rasles' death about 150 of his Norridgewock Indians removed from the Kennebec to St. Francis, on the St. Lawrence, and others of the tribe were scattered among different Abnaki bands in Maine.

In transcribing, I have substituted ^{n} (superior) for the *n̈* which is used by the writer (as it was by Rasles) to mark a nasalized vowel; œ for his 8; and I have supplied three words omitted from the third petition. The Norridgewock Indians used *r* for the Penobscot *l*, and *ts* for the stronger *tch* and *ch* of the eastern tribes, as in *ni-alets* ('so be it') for Penobscot *ni-aletch;* but among the St. Francis band, the Penobscot dialect has prevailed. According to Vetromile (*Good Book*, 268) "the Passamaquoddy tribe at present recite the Lord's Prayer &c. in Canniba language, yet a great many of them say the same in pure Passamaquoddy language."

I insert here, the form from "Prière du soir en Caniba," in another MS. volume (mentioned on the preceding page). It is the same which Demilier and Vetromile give in the Penobscot dialect, except in the 6th and 7th petitions.

9b. CANNIBA.*

Quemitangousna spomquic eyane:

1. Ueuersermougouadge eriuisiane.
2. Amantai naigai paichi ueuitauegsa quetepertamoanganeque.
3. Eriquetongouac quetererdamoangane spomquic taré nabeiquic paichi quitangouadge.
4. Mamirinai yopaimquisca etasquisquoi abanemena.
5. Yobachi anerdama arouyecai, caicanui oraigbane eriniona quisi anerdama uocout caicanuyo quetepanai.
6. Mosak tari chiguitauicaig tamanpachei saguei aritoanganic.
7. Oranmistoqui saguaiusoanminai machigquic.

Niarets.

* The writer uses the French *qu* for *k*, and his final *e* (as in *eyane*) is mute, unless accented.

In the following notes I principally rely on Rasles's Dictionary (R.), with occasional references to Vetromile's *Good Book* (Vetr.), and to a little volume* prepared for the St. Francis Indians by Peter Paul Ozunkherhine or *Wzokhilain* (Wzk.), a native Abnaki, educated in Moor's Indian School, Hanover, N. H., who maintained a mission-school at St. Francis from 1830 to 1858. Ozunkherhine spoke and wrote English with ease and accuracy, was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, and — living among and writing for his own people — his authority is of the highest, on all that concerns the western-Abnaki dialect.

'Our-Father on-high who-there-dwellest.' *Nemi'ta^{n}gœs* (R.), *n'mitogues* (Wzk.) 'my father': comp. *nada^{n}gœ* 'my son-in-law,' *n'nada^{n}gœs* 'my cousin' (R.) and Narrag. *natónks* 'my cousin'; Mass. *adtonkqs* 'kinsman,' *togquos* 'a twin' (El.); Chip. *nidangoshe* 'my female cousin' (Bar.). In vv. 6, 7, and 9, the affixes are those of the 1st person *exclusive* plural, but in v. 8 (Demilier's or Romagné's, and Vetromile's) the form is that of the *inclusive* plural, and the Deity is addressed, not as 'Father of us all' but as 'Father of thyself and us': *Kemita^{n}gœséna* means '*Our and your* Father,' a proper expression when God is spoken *of*, but a very improper one in addressing prayer *to* him. We shall find the same mistake in other versions. *Spemkik* 'on high'; *spemek* 'high' (R.); Chip. *ishpiming*, Moh. *spummuck* (v. 13), Shawn. *spimmiki* (v. 34): *spukgiskœ ta ki* 'heaven and earth' (Wzk. in Ex. xx. 11): Rasles has *kizœkœ* for 'heaven.' *Ëian*, *eyan*, *èhine*, 'thou who art (dwellest) there'; see p. 114.

1. Let it be greatly-esteemed thy-name.' *Sa^{n}ghama^{n}œe*, from *sa^{n}gma^{n}* 'chief, captain'; *ne-sa^{n}gma^{n}œérma^{n}* 'I regard him as chief,' or 'esteem him highly'; with an inan. object, *sa^{n}gma^{n}œérmegœat* 'it is regarded as chief' or 'esteemed high.' In v. 8, a different verb is used, *weweselmoguatch* 'let it be greatly distinguished,' literally, 'embellished' or 'honorably decorated'; *ne-œéœéssiha^{n}* 'I embellish him greatly' (R.); with inan. object, *wawasitokœ* 'he blessed it,' and

* *Wawasi Lagidamwoganek* &c. [Holy Laws, Ten Commandments, with Explanations, for Christian Instruction.] P. P. Wzokhilain. (Boston, 1830.)

wawasi 'holy, hallowed' (Wzk.), *awewessi* 'blessed' (MS.). *Eriwisian*, *èliwiziyin*, *ayiliwisian*, 2d pers. sing. conditional (participle) of *ariwisw* 'he is called' (R.), lit. 'thy so-calling' or 'as thou art called.'

2. *Amanté* "plût à Dieu" (R.), 'would that,' Lat. *utinam*. *Negai* is omitted in vv. 6, 7, and by Demilier in v. 8, where Vetromile inserts *neghè*, which seems to be *naighé* of Rasles, 'when, at that time': but Rasles has also *néga* and *nekka*, 'there, in that place.' *Keteberdamwangan* 'thy government,' a verbal from *ne'teberdam* 'I govern' (R.). In v. 8, this verbal has the locative suffix, and the meaning aimed at perhaps was: 'May we be with thee in thy kingdom.' In vers. 7, only, we have a correct form of the verb, *paòmwich* (Mass. *peyaumwutch*, v. 10) 'let *it* come.' In Algonkin grammar an *inanimate* object cannot properly be made the subject of an *active* verb, but is always regarded as *acted upon*, the verb taking a quasi passive form. In the eastern dialects, *m*, in the formative, is a characteristic of these "personifying" verbs: e. g. Mass. *peyau* 'he comes,' *peyaumw* 'it comes,' i. e. 'is caused to come'; so, *peyaumw-utch*, imperat. 3d sing. 'let it come'; and in the Abnaki we have the corresponding forms used by Rasles, *iw aban* 'he comes here,' *baianmwiw* 'it comes,' and more accurately by Ozunkherhine, *paion't* (*payont*, El.) 'when he comes,' *paionmwik* 'when it comes,' *paiawi* 'he comes,' *paionmw* 'it comes,' &c.* *Petzussewitch* (v. 6) is from a verb meaning 'to approach,' 'to come (or be brought) *near*' (*pésswdwssé* 'approach thou,' *pésswtsiwi* 'near,' R.); but it denotes approximation in *space*, not in *time*, and is wrongly used in such expressions as *etodji petzossewik* "when the time arrives," as in the Passamaquoddy Catechism (Vetr. 347).

3. 'So-as they-obey thy-will on-high there so on-earth let-it-be-obeyed': in vers. 6, 7, "Thy-will so let-it-be-done this world (great-land) -in as-there on-high": in v. 8, "As they-

* In the Chippeway, there are two forms of these verbs — which Baraga terms "personifying," because "they serve to represent an inanimate thing as doing the action of an animate being," — one ending in *magad*, the other in *on*.—*Otch. Gram.* 85, 409.

obey thy-will on-high, so here likewise on earth let-it-be-obeyed." In v. 9, I have supplied [in brackets] the words omitted by the transcriber. *Ket'erérdamœa^{n}gan*, a verbal from *ned'erérdam* 'I think, will, purpose' (R.); Mass. *unantamóonk;* see note on v. 10; but the meaning of the petition would have been better expressed by using the verb in the conditional; *ali wlaldama* 'as I will,' i. e. 'my will,' *ali wlaldak* 'as he will,' 'his will' (Wzk. in John, vi. 38); comp. Chip. *enendaman* (vv. 27, 28). *Ne-kiktam* 'I obey' (R.). *Nanbi* (*na^{n}bi*, R.; *nampi*, v. 8) 'so,' = Mass. *nompe* 'in turn,' 'again.'

4. 'Give-us this day-in daily bread': in v. 8, 'Give-us this day-in daily our bread.' *Ne-míra^{n}* 'give it to him,'—but the verb *ned-as'ama^{n}* 'I give (it) him to eat' (comp. Mass. *assamaïnnean*, v. 10) would more exactly express the meaning of the petition: the forms *ma-miriné*, *mamilíné* (v. 8) have the frequentative reduplication. *Pemkiskak*, *bemghiskak*, *pemi-ghisgàk*, 'through (or, during) the day': *etassekiskœe* (*etaskiskœe*, *ètaskiskué*, vv. 6, 8) 'of every day,' 'daily'; *é'tassi* 'always, without ceasing' (R.). *Abannemen* 'bread,' 'baked corn': *aba^{n}n* 'bread' (R.) is, literally, that which is 'baked'; *-men* is the generic name for 'corn,' 'grain' (and for every description of 'small fruit'), pl. *-menar:* e. g. *nœkhámen* 'sifted corn' (flour); *n'tapònmenà* (v. 8) 'our baked corn': Narrag. *aupúmmine-anash* (plur.), Mass. *appuminnéonash* "parched corn" (R. W. & El. in 1 Sam. xvii. 17).

5. "And-besides so forgive-us when-we-have-offended-thee as we forgive those-who-offend-us"; and so in v. 8: in vv. 6, 7, "And forgive-us our-offences (?) as we so forgive-them who-offend-us." *Gheganœihœregheban* (*kakanwihiolek'pan*, Vetr.) is from *ne-gaga^{n}œiha^{n}* 'I offend *in act*' (R.). In v. 8, this verb is preceded by the sign of the past tense, or rather, of completed action, *kisi* (and conditional, *kèsi*).

6. In vv. 6, 7, 'And do-not lead-us into-trouble.' *Te*, *ta*, = *tai*, R., a conjunction. *Akui*, *ekkwi*, = *é'kœi*, "cessationem significat" (R.), 'refrain from,' 'do not'; Mass. *ahque* (El.), see v. 10. *Mœsak* (vv. 8, 9) is *prohibitive*, not merely deprecative: it is appropriately used in the command-

ments (*mosak komotuekan* "thou *shalt not* steal," Vetr. 295), but it is out of place in prayer. *Losseline*, imperat. 2~1 pers.; Canniba *ned'erœssara*^{n} 'I lead or conduct him' (R.).

10. MASSACHUSETTS.

From Eliot's version of the Bible (2d edition, 1685), Matt. vi. 9–13. The vowels nearly as in English; *œ* like *oo* in *moon;* a vowel followed by *h* is *short; ah* varies between *a* in *add* and *a* in *what.*

Nœshun kesukqut:

1. Quttianatamunach kœwesuonk.
2. Peyaumœutch kukketassœtamóonk.
3. Kuttenantamóonk ne n nach ohkeït neäne kesukqut.[1]
4. Nummeetsuöngash asekêsukokish assamaïnnean yeuyeu kesukok.[2]
5. Kah ahquoäntamaiïnnean nummatcheseongash, neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontamóunnonog.[3]
6. Ahque sagkompagunaiïnnean en qutchhuaonganit.[4]
7. Webe pohquohwussinnean wutch matchitut.
8. Newutche kutahtauun ketassœtamóonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumóonk, micheme.

Amen.

Variations in Luke xi. 2–4:

[1] . . . . . ne naj, neyane kesukqut kah ohkeït.

[2] Assamaiinnean kokokesukodae nutase[ke]sukokke petukqunneg.

[3] . . . . . nummatcheseonganonash newutche nenawun wonk nutahquontamauóunnonog.

[4] Kah ahque sagkompaginnean en qutchehettuonganit, qut . . . . .

The language of Eliot's version was that of the tribes about Massachusetts Bay and, generally, of southern New England, near the coast. It was spoken, with some differences of dialect which cannot now be accurately indicated, by the Wampanoags of Plymouth colony, the Narragansets and Niantics, the islanders of Nope (Martha's Vineyard), the Montauks, &c. In 1658, Eliot was questioned by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, "whether the translation he had made was generally understood? to which I answered" — he writes — "that upon my knowledge it was understood as far as Connecticut; for there I did read some part of my translation before many hundred English witnesses, and the Indians manifested that they did understand what I read, perfectly, in respect of the language." The

peculiarities of the Quiripi dialect, spoken west of Connecticut river near the Sound, were more clearly marked (see, after, vers. 15): and the Pequot-Mohegan (Muhhekaneew) of southeastern Connecticut, belongs to another group, characterized not merely by its harsher and more frequent gutturals but by differences of inflection and transition forms.

In the Micmac, Abnaki, Delaware, and some other eastern-Algonkin dialects, inanimate nouns form their plurals in *l* or *r*, preceded by a short vowel; in the Mohegan (as in the Chippeway, &c.) these plurals end in *n;* in the northern Cree and some western languages, in *ĭ*; only in southern New England, in *ash* or *sh*. The *animate* plural in all pure Algonkin languages ends in *k* or *g*, or in *k* followed by a short vowel. Thus,—

Abn. (Caniba)	*sípu* 'river,' pl.	*sípuar.*
(Penobs.)	*sípi*,	*sípial.*
Del.	*sípo*,	*sípöal.*
Chip.	*síbi*,	*síbiwun.*
Cree,	*sípi*,	*sípīa.*
Illin.	*sipiœi*,	*sipiœa.*
Mass.	*sipu, sîp*,	*sipuäsh* (*sepuash*, El.).

Assun 'a stone' is *inanimate* in most Algonkin languages, but by the Crees and Chippeways is classed with *animate* nouns: Del. *aχsin*, pl. *aχsinal;* Illin. *asseni*, pl. *assena;* Mass. *assun*, pl. *assunash;* Cree *ussin*, pl. *ussineük;* Chip. *assin*, pl. *assinig.*

Nœsh 'my father,' *nœsh-un* 'our father': the root, *œch*, means 'from,' 'out of' (see *ūch*, v. 1): *nœsh* expresses, primarily, not *paternal* but *filial* relation—'I come from him,' *œshoh* 'he comes from him,' or, with transposition of subject and object, 'he *from*s him': comp., in Eliot's version, *neen nœchai wohkumaieu* "I am from above" (John viii. 23); *waban œtshoh toh* &c. "the wind bloweth [i. e. *comes from*] where" &c.; *ne . . . œtche-un mittamwossissoh* "that [*from*] *made he* a woman," Gen. ii. 22. *Kesukqut* 'in the sky': *kesuk*, in Mass. dialect, is (1) the visible heavens, the sky, (2) the day; in some Algonkin dialects (and perhaps

originally) a name of the Sun, Moh. *kēsogh*, Chip. *gizis*, Abn. *kizœs*, Narr. *keesuckquand* [i. e. *kēsukq-m'anit*] "the Sun-god" (R. W.). The form *kesuk* points to a primary verb *kĕsin* or *kussin*, from which we find, in the several Algonkin languages, three groups of derivatives, with the meanings, respectively, 'to warm'; 'to ripen, or mature'; and 'to finish, or perfect': *kezheau* "he creates" (Eliot in Gen. i. 27, v. 1, &c.) is one of these derivatives; comp. Abn. *ne·kisiha*^{n} 'I finish or perfect him,' &c. Eliot prudently followed the Greek in the omission of the verb, — 'Our Father in heaven.'

1. 'Be-it-honored thy-name.' The verb is in the imperat. 3d sing. from *quttianum* 'he honors it,' primarily, 'he *bends* to it'; a derivative from *quttaëu* 'he sinks down,' 'lowers himself,' — whence also *m'kuttuk* 'the knee' and *quttunk* 'throat,' i. e. 'down-going.' *Wesuonk* 'naming,' primar. 'calling,' 'saying'; related to, if not immediately formed from, *wussin* 'he says': comp. *kutissowesu* 'thou art called,' *ne kœwesuonk* 'that [is] thy name,' Gen. xxxv. 10.

2. 'Let-it-come-hither thy-great-rulership.' *Pēyaü* 'he comes'; with inan. subject, *pēyaü-mœ* 'it comes,' and impt. 3d pers. *peyaumœutch*. *Ketassœtimóonk* 'chief-rulership' or 'dominion'; verbal from *ketassœtam* 'he is chief ruler' or 'great lord,' from *kehte* 'principal, chief,' and *sontim* (*sôtam*, R. W.) 'master, 'lord.'

3. 'Thy-thinking (purpose, will,) be-it-so.' *Kuttenantamóonk*, an active verbal, with 2d pers. pronom. prefix, from *unantam* 'he thinks,' 'purposes,' 'is so-minded.' In eastern Algonkin languages, verbs in *-antam* (Del. *-endam*, Abn. *-erdam*) "express a disposition, situation, or operation of the mind" (Zeisberger's Del. Gram. 89): verbal, *unantamóonk* 'thinking,' 'willing' &c. Deut. xv. 9, Job xlii. 2. *Ne natch*, *ne naj*, 'be it so,' 3d sing. imper. of *n'nih* [*unnĭ*] 'it is so'; used for 'Amen' in the Abnaki vv. 6, 7, 8 (*nialetch*, *nialach*) and Quiripi (*ne ratch*) v. 15; so, Narr. *énatch neen-anowa* "let my word stand" (be so), R. W.

'On-earth so-as in-the-heavens.' *Ohki* [*aukʻi*] 'ground, land, place, country, earth,' has here the locative postposition for 'in' or 'on': and so, *kesukq-ut* (as in the invocation) *Neane* 'so as,' 'such as,' for *ne unne* 'of this kind.'

4. 'My-victuals (*lit.* 'my eatings') in-daily-course give-me this day.' From the primary *meech-u* (*mítchu*) 'he eats' is formed the act. intrans. *meetsu* (contr. for *meech-esu*), and the verbal *meetsuonk*, plur. *meetsuongash* 'eatings,' and with *n'* prefixed, 'my eatings.' For the *double* plural, '*our* eatings,' two additional syllables are required, — giving the termination *-onganonash*. A similar omission was made in the next petition, in *nummatcheseongash* 'my (for *our*) evil-doings,' — which Eliot corrects in Luke xi. 4.

Áse-kēsukok-ish 'every day'; the prefix and suffix are distributive, giving the meaning of 'each in its turn,' 'one after the other, in course'; so, *áse-nompók-ish*, Exod. xxx. 7, 'morning by morning': comp. Abn. *éhéssokke* 'turn by turn' (= Mass. *ósekóeu*, El.).

Assama-innean, imperat. 2 s. ~ 1 pl. of *assamaü* 'he feeds,' 'gives to eat'; *assamé* 'give me to eat.' *Yeuyeu*, an emphatic demonstrative, from *yeu* (Abn. *iœ*) 'this'; 'this here,' Fr. *ceci*. *Kesukok* 'while it is day' or 'during the day,' the conditional form of *kesuk*.

In Luke xi. 3, we have *kokokesukodaé* (in the first two syllables of which there is probably a misprint) and *nutasesukokke* [mispr. for *nutasekesukokke*] *petukqunneg* 'my daily bread.' Peirson's Quiripi version has both *no-meetsounk* and *petúkkenêag*. The latter is from *petukki* (*petukqui*, El.; Abn. *petegœi*) 'round'; *petukqunneg* 'round thing,' and so 'a loaf of bread': Narr. *puttuckqunnége* "a cake" (R. W.). In the Mohegan, *'tquogh* (Edw.); the Virginia 'tuckahoe.'

5. "And do-not-bear-in-mind [against]-us *my* [by mistake for *our*]-evil-doings.' *Ka* (Montagn., Alg. and Chip. *gaie*, Conn. and Quirip. *quah*) used as a copulative. In Chippewa, *gaie*, like Latin *que*, usually *follows* the latter of the two words it connects. *Ahquoantam*, from *ahque* 'do not,' 'refrain from,' and *-antam*, the formative of verbs of *thinking* &c. (see pet. 3): with direct inanimate and remote animate objects (accusative and dative), *ahquoantamaü* 'he does-not-think-of (it) to or against (him); it is here in the imperative, 2 s. 1 pl. 'thou . . . to us.' *N'matcheseong-*[*anon*]*ash* 'our evil doings'; from primary *match-i* 'bad,'

and adverbially, 'badly' (Abn. *matsi*, Chip. *matchi*, Cree *matsi*, *mutche*, &c.); *match-etou* 'he *is* bad' inherently or by nature, *matchesu* 'he *does* (is actively) bad,' whence the verbals *matchetuonk* 'badness (of heart or purpose)' and *matcheseonk* 'evil-doing,' pl. *-ongash*.

'So-as those-who-do-evil-to-us we-do-not-bear-in-mind.' *Neane*, see 3d petition. *Match-enehheaü* 'he does evil to,' causat. animate form, from *matchi;* conditional ptcpl. *matchenehuk* 'he who does evil to,' double pl. *-kqueagig* 'they who . . . to us. *Ahquontam-aü* (= *ahquoantamaü*), here takes the transition of 1 pl.~3 pl. indic. present, 'we . . . to them.'

6. 'Do-not lead-us into trial.' *Ahque*, termed by Eliot (Gr. 21) an "adverb of forbidding," is used chiefly with the imperative in prohibitions, and corresponds nearly to Gr. *οὐ μή*, or Fr. *ne . . . pas*, though its primary meaning is 'to leave off,' 'to desist.' Abn. *é'kœi* "cessationem significat" (Rasles), Narr. *aguié* "leave off, do not" (R. W.), Moh. *uhquae*, Cree *egá*, *ithka*, Chip. *kego*, &c. Comp. *ahque natwontamœk* "take ye no thought," Eliot in Matt. x. 19.

Sagkompan-aü 'he leads (him)': comp. Is. xl. 11, and Matt. xv. 14. From the same primary as Del. *sagkimau* 'he is a chief' and the Indian-English '*sagamore*.' See version 4 (petition 1), *sangmanwi*. The correct form of the transition imperative, 2 s.~1 pl., is *sagkompaginnean*, as in Luke xi. 4. *En* is classed by Eliot (Gr. 22) with "conjunctions of place," meaning "in, at, or to"; here, with locative suffix of the following verbal (*-it*), it gives the meaning of 'into.' *Qutchhuaonk* 'a trying,' or 'making trial of,' — the *active* used by mistake for the *passive* verbal *qutchchettuonk* 'a being-made-trial of,' which is found in the corresponding petition in Luke xi. 4: with its primary verb *quthum* (contr. for *quttuhhum* 'he measures, weighs, tries') comp. Abn. *ne-kœtadámen* "je goûte, pour voir s'il est bon, *ne-kœtsitœn* "j'essaie, j'éprouve," (R.), Chip. *nin-gátchibia* 'I tempt him,' *nin-gotjiew* 'I try,' *nin-gotama* 'I taste it' (Bar.).

7. 'But deliver-thou-us from what-is-bad.' *Webe*, *wepe*, is used for 'but,' only in the Mass., Conn., and Quirip. versions. Its true meaning seems to be 'only,' 'solely,' corresponding

to Abnaki *œibiœi:* comp. *matta ne webe* 'not that only,' "not only so," Rom. v. 3, *webe woh ke-nupmun* "we can but [only] die," 2 Kings, vii. 4. Roger Williams uses it, in the Narraganset dialect, to emphasize the pronoun of the subject of a verb, as in *wepe kuk-kúmmoot* "you [*tu autem*] have stole." In Luke xi. 4, Eliot for *webe* substitutes *qut*, "a conjunction discretive, *but*." (Gr. 22.)

Pohquohwussu 'he delivers,' 'is a deliver,' act. intrans.: *pohquohwussu-aen*, nomen agentis, 'a deliverer,' as in title of New Testament, with pronom. affixes, *nup'poquohwussuaen-eumun* 'our Savior.' The primary, *pohqui*, means 'it is open,' 'clear': hence, *pohquohham* 'he goes clear,' 'escapes,' &c.: comp. Chip. *nin-pákakonan* 'I open,' *pakakossin* 'it opens,' *nin-pákinan* 'I open it' (Abn. *ne-pekaha*"). *Wutch* 'from, out of.' See notes on *nœshun* (p. 141), *ūchiek*, v. 1, and *wedji*, vv. 6, 7.

8. 'Because to-thee-it-belongs chief-rulership, the strong-doing, and forth-shining, forever.' *Ne-wutche* 'this from,' or, 'because of.' *Kut-ahtau-un*, from *ohtau* 'he has, possesses' (it); *ohtau-un* 'it is had, possessed, belongs to'; here, with prefix of 2 sing. 'to thee it belongs.' *Menuhkesu-onk*, verbal from *menuhkesu*, act. intrans. 'he is strong, a strong-doer,' from *menuhki* 'strong,' primarily, 'hard,' 'firm': Micm. *melki* (and *menaké* "pressé," Maill.), Abn. *ne-merkasani* "je me sers de force" (Rasles). *Sohsumóonk* 'forth-shining,' a verbal from *sohsumœ* 'it shines forth' (Chip. *wasseiasi* "he shines, is resplendent," *wasseiasiwin* 'light, splendor, brightness'): here, and throughout his version, Eliot uses this verbal for 'glory.' *Michéme*, "for ever," "everlasting" &c., by Eliot; *ne micheme ohtag* "that which is forever," "eternal," Psal. cxlv. 13, Rom. i. 20. So, in the Conn. and Quirip. versions; Narr. "forever" (R. W.), Abn. *metsimiœi* 'always,' Micm. *mech* "d'avantage; encore, de plus" (Maill.), Chip. *mojag*, *monjag*, 'always, perpetually' (Bar.). The root is, apparently, *mishe*, *missi*, 'great, much,' and the primary meaning, 'a great while.'

11. CONNECTICUT.

NIANTIC?

Rev. Experience Mayhew, MS. 1721; written "by the help of an interpreter," in "the dialect of the [so-called] Pequot Indians."

Nœshun onkkouwe kesukuk:

1. Weyetuppatam eyage kœwesœonk.
2. Kukkuttassœtumœonk peâmœutch.
3. Kœwekontamœonk eyage yeutai okee oiohktai onkkouwe kesukkuk.
4. Mesunnan eyeu kesukohk asekesukohkish nupputtukqunnekonun.
5. Quah ohquantamiunnan nummattompauwonkanunonash nânuk oi ohquantamouog kehchapunniqueoguk.
6. Quah ahque eassunnan michemwetœonkanuk.
7. Wepe pohquassunnan wutche matchetuk.
8. Newutche kuttihe kuttassœtamœonk, mekekœonk, quah kunnontiatamœonk, micheme quah micheme. Amen.

In the letter* from which this is copied, Mr. Mayhew writes that when he visited the Indians of Connecticut, a few years before 1721, he found "so much difference betwixt their language and that used on Martha's Vineyard that he could not well understand their discourses" or be understood by them without an interpreter: he adds, however: "I thought the difference was not so great but that I could have attained to speak intelligibly in their dialect if I had continued there a few months"; though "these differ more from the Natick Indians [in whose dialect Eliot wrote] than those of the Vineyard do." The version he gives — made by himself with the help of an interpreter — certainly is not *Pequot*, i. e. Mohegan, but is probably in the dialect of the *Niantics*, Indians of the coast between Connecticut River and Point Judith, R. I. The Niantics near New London occupied the tracts reserved for, and were mingled with, the Pequots, of whom few — perhaps none of pure blood — survived to 1721. One of the peculiarities of this version is the substitution of *y* for (Mass.) *n*, in *wunne*, *enaj*, &c., here written *weye*, *eyage*: see notes on the first petition. The locative affix is *-uk* (*kesukuk* for Mass. *kesukqut*) or *-tai* (*yeu-tai* for Mass. *yeu-ut*).

* In the collection of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston.

For Eliot's *kesukqut* 'in cœlis,' Mayhew has *onkkouwe kesukuk* 'beyond the sky.' In the first petition, *weyetuppatam* stands for Mass. *wunnetupantam* 'it is holy,' — seldom used by Eliot, though he has the adjective *wunneetupanatamwe* for 'holy' on the title-page of his version of the Bible, other forms in Mark vi. 20, Acts xiiv. 43, &c., and its opposite, *matchetu-panatam* 'profaned,' Ezek. xxii. 26. The change from *wunne* to *we'ye* corresponds to that of Mass. *anúm* 'dog' to *ayím* in the Narraganset dialect, noted by R. Williams, *Key*, 107. In the Quiripi (v. 15) Peirson has *werrettepantam*. *Eyage*, pron. *e-yaj*, is Mass. *ne naj*, Narr. *enátch* 'be it so,' Quir. *neratch*, Abn. *ni-aletch;* see v. 10, pet. 3, and comp. Micm. *n'deliatsch*, v. 2. The termination in *-aj*, "as the English word *age* soundeth," was, Eliot states, "a regular sound in the 3d pers. sing. imperative mode of verbs."

3. *K'wekontam-œonk* 'thy pleasure': verbal from *wekontam* 'he is pleasant-minded,' glad; Abn. *œigaⁿdam*, Del. *wingilendam* 'I am pleased with it' (Zeisb.): from *wekon* 'sweet, pleasant to the taste,' with the formative *-ntam* of verbs expressing mental action, &c. *Yeutai*, Mass. *yeu-ut*, 'in this' (place), herein: comp. Abn. vers. 6, *yuttel*, and *iœ-tè* (Râle). Montagn. *u-te*, Cree, *o-tè* 'here.' *Okee;* Narr. *aukè*, Mass. *ohke*, 'earth'; comp. vers. 10. *Oiohktai* is of questionable shape; its place in the clause requires the meaning of 'as in.'

4. *Mesunnan* 'give us': comp. Quir. *mêsonah* (vers. 13): from a verb, not used by Eliot, — corresponding, perhaps, to Chip. *nin mijiwe* 'I give him.' *Eyeu kesukohk* 'this day,' = Mass. *yeu*[*yeu*] *kesukok*. *Nup-puttukqunnek-onun* 'our bread,' from *puttukqunneg* 'bread,' lit. 'something round'; see note on vers. 10 (pet. 4).

5. 'And refrain-from-thinking-[against-]us our-enmities (hostilities), like-as we may refrain-from-thinking-of those-who-hurt-us (?)'. *Quah* = *kah* (El.), Narr. *kà* (R. W.), Chip. *gaie*. *Ohquantamiunnan* = *ahquoantamaiinnean*, v. 10. *Mattompauwonk*, verbal from *mattompaü* 'he makes war on,' 'is an enemy,' — primarily, 'is a bad man'? hence, condit. *mattompog* (El.) as a noun, 'war,' = Abn. *mattanbekœ*; Del. *machtapeek* "bad time, war time" (Zeisb.) *Nânuk* = *neaunak* (El.) 'according to,' 'after the same manner as.'

Ohquantamouog, 1st ~ 3d pl. conditional, 'when we (or, we may) refrain from thinking of them.'

6. 'And do-not lead-us temptation-into'? Neither of the two principal words is found in Eliot, but *michemwetœonk-anuk* corresponds to Peirson's (Quirip.) *mitchemôuretouk*, which he translates "temptation." It certainly cannot have that meaning.

8. *Kuttihe* 'thine is'; *kuttaihe*, El.: but when the subject *follows* the verb, *kut'ahtâu-un* 'belongs to thee,' as in Mass. version, is the better form.

12. CONNECTICUT.

PEQUOT–MOHEGAN?

"The Lord's prayer in the language of the Mohegan and Pequot Indians living in the colony of Connecticut, procured by the Hon. Gov. Saltonstall, at New London, February, 1721"; with interlinear translation; printed in Morse's Report on the Indian Tribes &c. (1824; p. 54). It is worth preserving, if only to show how a text may be corrupted by bad spelling, wrong division of words, careless transcription, and mistakes of the printer. I have interlined what *may* have been the reading of the original MS., so far as the printed copy affords any clue to it.

Co shunōngone ǐhe suck cuck ăbot:
Noshun ôngoue chesuckcuck ābet:

1. Na naw ūi e coom shāw ims nūskspe coūe so wūnk
Nanawūietoomshawi . . . . . coūesowunk.
2. Kuck sūdamong — peamōoch
Kuck'sūdamong peamōutch.
3. Ecōok aiootōomomon ūkkee tawti ėė ōok ungow a
Etook aioôtoomon úkkee tawti eëiœk ungowa
gēescuck
gēēsuckcuck.
4. Meē se nam Eyeu kēe suck askēsuck mȳsput eo honēgan
Mēēsenan eyeu kēēsuck askēsuck nupputtokonēgan.
5. Ah quon to mi nun namat to ōmp pa wōn ganunksh nō
Ahquontominun nummattoómppawonganunksh ne
awe āh goon to mi nad macha chook qoe a guck,
aune ahquontomina . . . . matchachookqueoguck.
6. Ah greead macon jussūon mattum paw oon ganuck
Ahque . . . . . mattumpawoonganuck.
7. Puk kqūeaw-hus nāwn woochet matchetook
Pukkquēawhus neawn woochet matchetook.
8. Kee kucks sūdamong cumme ekē go wonk ah hōont
Keekucksūdamong cumme'ekēgowonk . . . . . .

seek coomsakŏ oh woonk, mackēeme machēemo Eeats.
. . . *coomsakŏohwoonk*, *machēēme*, *machēēme*. *Eáts.*

As translated:

"Father ours above in heaven: [1] Admired in highest manner be thy name. [2] Thy-powerful-kingdom let-it-come. [3] Like done thy will in earth as like in heaven. [4] Give us this day and every day (daily) bread. [5] Let us be forgiven evil doings of ours, we would forgive wrong doers to us. [6] Not guide us into snares, but help us to escape from evil. [7] Thine thy [the?] powerful kingdom, thine the strength, thine the greatest splendor, always, always, Me-wish-so."

13. MOHEGAN,

OF STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.

From Edwards's *Observations*, 1788,* pp. 9, 10.

Noghnuh, ne spummuck oieon,

1. taugh mauweh wneh wtukoseauk neanne annuwoieon.
2. Taugh ne aunchuwutammun wawehtuseek maweh noh pummeh.
3. Ne annoihitteech mauweh awauneek noh hkey oiecheek, ne aunchuwutammun, ne aunoihitteet neek spummuk oiecheek.
4. Menenaunuh noonooh wuhkamauk tquogh nuh uhhuyutamauk ngummauweh.
5. Ohquutamouwenaunuh auneh mumachoieaukeh, ne anneh ohquutamouwoieauk numpeh neek mumacheh annehoquaukeek.
6. Cheen hquukquaucheh siukeh annehenaunuh.
7. Panneeweh htouwenaunuh neen maumtehkeh.
8. Keah ngwehcheh kwiouwauweh mauweh noh pummeh; ktanwoi; estah awaun wtinnoiyuwun ne aunoieyon; hanweeweh ne ktinnoieen.

Amen.

"The Stockbridge Indians, as well as the tribe at New London, are by the Anglo-Americans called *Mohegans*, which is a corruption of *Muhhekaneew*, in the singular, or *Muhhekaneok*, in the plural. . . . Every tribe, as that of Farmington, that of Stockbridge, that of New London, &c., has a different dialect" (Edw. p. 5).

* *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians.* By Jonathan Edwards, D. D., New Haven, 1788. Re-printed, with notes and appendix, by Dr. J. Pickering, in *Mass. Hist. Collections* (2d Series), x. 81—154. "After I had drawn up these observations, lest there should be some mistakes in them, I carried them to Capt. Yōghum, a principal Indian of the tribe, who is well versed in his own language and tolerably informed concerning the English; and I availed myself of his remarks and corrections" (p. 3).

14. MOHEGAN,

OF STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.

From *The Assembly's Catechism* (Stockbridge, Mass., 1795); "printed in the *Moheakuunuk*, or Stockbridge Indian Language."*

Nokhnuh keyuh neh wohwekoiwaukunnuk oiyon:

1. Taukh wauwuhwekotautheek auneweethyun.
2. Taukh kkehkiyowaukunmaunk.
3. Taukh aunhchowautommun unnoiyek nunnooh tonneh hkeek aunow aunoiyek wohwekoiwaukunnuk tonneh.
4. Menenaunuh nooh wohkommauk nuh wauwohkommaukeh duqkhomnuh.
5. Don uhquautommowwenaunuh muchchoiwaukonnonnaun aunow naup auneh uhquautowmawwauyauk muhmchehunnehhoquaukeek.
6. Don cheen aum kpoonnenaunuh qchehootwaukunnuk unneh,
7. Mohcheet pquaukqkennenaunuh thoikuhk wcheh.
8. Quaum keyuh knehnautommon mauweh neh kkiwaukon, don unnowoiwaukun, wonk weekchaunauqsowaukun, honmeweh

Non neh unnoiyick.

In Edwards's notation, *u* "has the sound of *u* in *uncle*, though much protracted," *w* is always "a mere consonant," *e* final is not sounded except in monosyllables, *gh* has "the strong guttural sound which is given by the Scots to the same letters in the words *tough*, *enough*, &c."

The language of the Stockbridge Mohegans — like that of the Moravian Delawares — was so much *improved* by the missionaries that it is impossible to determine how many of its dialectic peculiarities are indigenous. Some particles, certainly, have received meanings which did not originally

* Mr. Schoolcraft (*Indian Tribes*, iv. 539) mentions another — and apparently an earlier — edition of the Mohegan Catechism, in a copy of which he found a MS. note, that the translation was made "by John Quinney and Captain Hendrick." The latter was a chief of the Stockbridge Mohegans.

To the edition of 1795 is appended (pp. 27–31) a translation — probably by another hand — of Dr. Watts's *Shorter Catechism for Children*.

Schoolcraft printed (*Indian Tribes*, v. 591) what was meant to be a copy of the above version — with a statement that it was made by "the theologian Jonathan Edwards," &c.; but his text is full of mistakes and his interlinear "translation" worthless.

belong to them — to fill places of conjunctions, relative pronouns, and the definite article. This is more noticeable in the recent versions, as in that of the 19th Psalm, "done at the Cornwall School under the superintendence of Rev. John Sergeant, missionary," printed in Dr. Morse's *Report on Indian Affairs*, 1822 (and re-printed in Pickering's edition of Edwards's *Observations*), which I occasionally cite (Ps. 19).

In the invocation, Edwards has: 'Our-Father that high-place-in thou-who-there-art': in v. 14, 'Our-Father thou that the-heaven (bright place?)-in thou-who-there-art.' *N'ogh*, = Mass. *nœsh*, Del. *nœk* (v. 15), 'my father'; *n'ogh-nuh* 'our father.' *Ne* (*neh*) is a demonstrative of inanimate objects — not a relative: with the conditional or participle of inan. verbs, it serves to form a concrete name, and may be translated by the definite article; e. g. (Mass.) *sequnni* 'it is left behind, it remains,' *ne sequnuk* 'that (which is) left,' 'the remainder.' *Spummuck* 'on high' = Abn. *spomkik;* see vv. 6–9, and note. *Oieon*, *oiyon*, = Mass. *áyean* (from *ayeu* 'he is here, or there'); see page 114, ante, and note on vv. 6–9: Edwards regards this form as a participle; 3d pers. *oïeet* "he who lives or dwells in a place" (Edw. 12), pl. *oiecheek*, as in pet. 3 of v. 13.

1. *Taugh*, *taukh*, Mass. *toh*, "properly signifieth *utinam* 'I wish it were so'" (El. Gram. 34). *Mauweh* 'all, the whole' is Mass. *moeu*, *miáwe*, 'collected, gathered,' Abn. *ma"œi* 'ensemble,' Chip. *mamawi;* it is repeated in petitions 2, 3, 4, and 8: so in Ps. 19, *mauweh paupaum'h hkeyeke* "through all the earth." *Auneweethyun* 'thy name,' lit. 'as thou art so-called': the Mohegans like the northern Crees readily pass from the soft *s* to *th* (θ); comp. *auneweseet*, *aunewetheet*, 'his name' (Cat. 14), *neh aunewehtautheek* 'which is called' (id. 25); Mass. *wesu-onk* 'his name,' *ussowesu* 'he is called.'

2. 'I-wish that-which thou-willest they-may-know all (everywhere?)' — Edw. 'I-wish thy-kingdom (come?)' — Cat. *Kkiwaukun* 'kingdom, dominion,' *wkehkiyowaukun* 'his kingdom,' *kkiyehteet* 'he who is powerful,' *kuktiyowwauweet* 'he who is king' (Cat.). I suspect an error of the press in the final *-maunk;* Schoolcraft's copy has *k'kihkiyowaukun pauk*, which may be nearer right, *pauk* representing

a form of the verb 'to come,' Mass. *peyau* 'he comes,' Abn. *ne-ba* 'I come,' &c.: but see note on version 9. Edwards gives a free translation: *ne aunchuwutammun* 'what thou willest,' 'thy will' — as in pet. 3; *aunhchowautuk* 'his will' (Cat.).

3. "That let-them-so-do all persons this earth who-are-in, that thou-willest (or, thy will), that is-so-done in-that high-place [by] they-who-are-in." — Edw. "I-wish thy-will so-be-done this there-in earth, as is-so-done heaven there-in." — Cat. *Hkey* (which should have the locative form, as in the Catechism, *hkeek*, or in Ps. 19. 14, *hkey-eke*) 'earth'; *nuh kesehtautoop ne spummuk wonk no hkeek* 'he made [that] heaven and [this] earth' (Watts's Cat.): Mass. *ohke*, *auki*, Abn. *ki*, locat. *kik*. *Nunnooh tonneh* 'this in'; the postposition *tonneh* corresponds to Quir. *terre* (v. 15), Del. *taani*, *talli* (vv. 16, 17), 'there-in' or 'there-at.' *Aunow* (Mass. *unne*, condit. *aunak*) 'it is like,' 'it is so' (here and in pet. 5, as a conjunction, 'as') represents one of the most prolific of Algonkin roots; comp. *aune-weethyun'* (pet. 1), *unnoiyek* and condit. *aunoiyek* (3), *unnoiyich* imperat. 'let it so be,' for 'Amen.'

4. Edw. "Give-us this day-in bread (Indian cake)" &c. — Edw. "Give-us this day-in daily bread" — Cat. *Mēnuh* 'give it him' (Edw. 7); comp. Del. *milineen* (v. 17), Montagn. *mirinan* (v. 18). *Tquogh*, *tquokh*, Indian bread, Powhatan *tockowhough*, modern "tuckahoe," from *p'tukki* 'round'; comp. Quir. *petâkkeneag* (v. 15), Shawn. *tuckwhana* (v. 33): *Duqkhomnuh* (Cat.) is 'bread stuff' = *tquokho-mina;* comp. Shawn. *tockquanimi* (v. 34), and Abn. *apòn-mena*, vv. 8, 9. *Wohkommau*, *wuhkummawu*, for 'day,' is peculiar to the Mohegan — and, I suspect, to the Mohegan *mission* dialect: it seems to be the equivalent of Mass. *wohkummiyeu* (El.) 'above, upwards' (comp. *wohqut* 'above,' El.), and may have been used in the sense of 'sky,' 'the visible heavens': comp. *paum-uhkummauweni-yeek* 'in the heaven above' (Cat., p. 13), *wohkummauweni wonk hkeey* 'heaven and earth' (p. 15).

5. "Forgive us"; comp. Mass. *ahquoantamaiinnean* (v. 10), Conn. vv. 11, 12, and Quiripi v. 16. *Muchchoiwaukun*,

mchaiwaukun, "sin" (Cat.) from *m'che* (Mass. *matche*) 'bad.' *Aunow* 'as,' see pet. 3. *Naup auneh* (Cat.) is printed by Schoolcraft as one word, *naupaunih;* Edwards has *numpeh neek: naupau* or *numpeh* = Abn. *na"be*, Mass. *nompe*, 'reciprocally,' 'in turn': "pardon us [our] sins as we in turn pardon those who do us evil." *Muhmcheh-unnehhoogqueek* 'those who injure us' (Cat.); comp. Mass. *matchenehukqueagig*, v. 10.

6. "Do not try (tempt) us in difficult things." — Edw. "And do not that we may fall temptation into." — Cat. *Cheen* = Mass. *ahque* (v. 10), Del. *katschi* (v. 17). *Siukeh* = Mass. *siogok*, *siogkok* 'that which is hard, or difficult, 'a hard thing' (El.), Narrag. *siúckat;* from *see* 'sour' (Lat. *acer*, *acerbus;* comp. Engl. sour, sore, sorrow); *siuhkoiwaukun* "misery" (Cat.). *Unneh* (v. 14) 'into, unto,' a postposition: comp. *tonneh* (= *ta-unneh*) pet. 3.

7. "But deliver-us difficulty(?) from." — Cat. "Put away from us what is hurtful." — Edw. *Pquaukhkennaut* 'redeemer,' *pquaukhkentowaukun* 'redemption' (Cat.): comp. Mass. (vers. 10). *Thoikuhk* = *siukuhk;* see pet. 6. *Wcheh* 'from' (Mass. *wutche*) follows the noun, as in Chippeway and other northern dialects.

8. "For thou keepest of-all the kingdom (dominion) and power, also glory, Forever." — Cat. "Thou because (For thou) rulest all every-where; thou art greatest; not anyone is-such-as that thou-art-such-as; forever that thou-art-so (?)" — Edw. The particle *quaum* is used throughout the Catechism for the conjunctions 'for, because.' *Ngwehcheh* (Edw.), *nik wauch* (Cat.) 'because,' 'therefore'; *nik wauch neh emuk* "the reason of it is" (Cat.); literally, 'that from,' *ne wutche* (El.). *Keyuh*, *keah*, *keyoh* (Ps. 19) 'thou.' *Estah* (*stoh* Ps. 19, *estoh* Cat.) 'not,' — a particle which is peculiar to this dialect. *Wonk*, *wauk*, 'also,' Mass. *wonk*, El. *Weekchaunauqsowaukun* for 'glory,' (*week-chau-naug-tho-wau-con*, Ps. 19) is of uncertain meaning. *Hanweeweh*, *honmeweh* (*oneemwauwau*, Cat.) 'forever' = Del. *hallemiwi;* see v. 17. *Wtinnoiyuwun* corresponds to Mass. *wuttinniin* (El.) as in Exod. iii. 14, *nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin* for "I am *that* I am," and *matta ne nuttinniein* "it is not so with me," Job ix.

35: this verb is used by Eliot and in the Moh. Catechism as a substitute for the simple verb substantive — for which it was not mistaken by Edwards who says, explicitly, (Observ. p. 14): "They have no verb substantive in all their language." In the Catechism, the question "What *is* God?" is rendered, *Taunek wtennoiyen nuh Pohtommawwaus?* i. e. 'of what *kind*,' or 'what is he *such as?*'

Non neh unnoiyick (misprinted for *unnoiyich*) 'this be-it-so'; see above, pet. 3.

15. QUIRIPI.

From Rev. Abraham Peirson's "Helps for the Indians,"* 1658, pp. 59, 60.

Noushin aûsequamuk terre:

1. Wérrettepantammunatch [wòweztâuonatch] kowésewunk.
2. Pèamoutch' kúkkussootúmmowunk,
3. Koràntàmmowunk neratch sket' ôkke nenar âusequamuk terre.
4. Mèsonah èa kèsuk kónkesekatush noméetsounk [petúkkenêag].
5. Akquantamínah nomàtchereúnganansh nenar tàkquantaminan ewojek nomàtcherehéaqueàguk,
6. Asquonsàkkongònan rame-re mítchemôuretounk,
7. Webe kûppoquohwhèriggamínah wutche madjk'.
8. Wutche kèkatah kètassœtómoonk, quah milkèssowunk, quah àíttarwejanúnguesówunk, michème quah michème, Ne râtch.

The dialect of this version is, or was intended to be, that of the Indians of south-western Connecticut, near Long Island Sound. It was probably spoken by the small tribes westward, in Westchester county, — including the "Wiequaesgeeks" and perhaps the "Waoranacks." The Dutch explorer, Block, first mentioned these Indians 'of the long-water,' — whom he found in 1614, near the mouth of Housatonic River,† — as "*Quiripeys*," and I adopt this in preference

* "*Some Helps for the Indians; shewing them how to improve their Natural Reason,* &c.,... By Abraham Peirson, Pastor of the Church at Branford." *Cambridge,* 1658. [Re printed in the 3d volume of the Connecticut Historical Society's Collections (not yet published), and separately, Hartford, 1873.]

† See De Lact, Nieuwe Wereldt (1630), b. iii., c. viii.

to the more familiar name *Quinnipiac*, which usage restricts to the vicinity of New Haven harbor, and which manifestly (by the substitution of *n* for *r*) belongs to another dialect than that of the Indians who lived thereabout.

Mr. Peirson's knowledge of the language was very limited. He had mastered none of the difficulties of the grammar; but he was assisted in his work by Thomas Stanton, "interpreter general to the United Colonies," and "by some others of the most able interpreters amongst us"; and his little volume has some value in its exhibition of dialectic peculiarities — e. g. the locative suffix *terre* (for Mass. *-ut*, *-it*), as in the Mohegan (*tonneh*) and Delaware (*taani*, *talli*).

'Our-father the-place-of-light in.' *Aûsequamuk;* comp. Micm. *wasok* (v. 2), *wajok* (v. 3, and note): Del. *awosságame* (and *awassagame-wunk* 'in heaven,' Zeisb.).

1. 'Let-it-be-well-regarded [or, let-it-be-obeyed] thy-name.' *Wérrettepantam* for Conn. *weyetuppatam* (v. 11), Mass. *wunnetupantam* 'it is holy' (El.): Peirson uses the verbal *wérrettepantàmmewunk* for "a grace" (p. 61). *Wòweztâu-onatch* 'let it be obeyed'; *wauweztám-mewunk*, verbal, for "obedience" (p. 31). *Wésewunk* or *wezzewunk* 'his name' (p. 47).

2. 'Let-it-come-hither thy-kingdom.' Comp. Mass. v. 10.

3. 'Thy-will be-it-so on-the-face-of (or, above) earth, as the-place-of-light in." *Neratch* for *ne nnach*, *ne naj*, El. *Sket'*, *skeje*, a contradiction of *wosket* or *woskeche* (El.) 'on the top, or outside, of.' Peirson often writes *sketohke* (= *wosketohke*, El. in Lev. xi. 21) as one word; but he sometimes uses *skeje* for 'upon,' before an animate object, as *skeje nejek* "upon them" (p. 26). *Nenar* 'the same as,' = *ne nan*, El.

4. 'Give-thou-*me* this day daily (?) *my* food [round cake].' Comp. with Conn. (v. 11), *mèsonah* and *mesunnan*, &c. *Kèsuk* is without the affix which is required to give it the character of an adverb; it should be (as in vv. 10, 11,) *kesukok*, 'in the day,' 'to-day.' *Noméetsounk*, noun (verbal) collective, in the singular and with the 1st pers. prefix, '*my* bread'; comp. *num'meetsuóngash* (v. 10) '*my* victuals,' and see note. *Kónkesekatush* appears to be formed from *kón* (*quinni* El.) 'long,'

and *kesekat* (*kesukod* El.) 'a day's time' (*quinni-kesuk* 'the day long,' "all the day," Ps. 44. 22, El.; *quinne kesukod*, Cotton: comp. *wame kesukodtash* "all the days" of his life, Gen. 5. 5).

5. 'Do-not-remember-against-*me my* badnesses, the-same-as I do-not-remember-against them who do-evil-to-us.' Comp. v. 10. Here again Peirson has confounded the transition forms: *tàkquantaminan* should have an initial *n'* for the first person (*n'tak-*). The distinction between 1st sing. and 1st pl. of the subject, in verbs of this class (having a direct object *inanimate* and remoter object *animate*, or inan. accusative with anim. dative,) was disregarded by Roger Williams, and not always observed by Zeisberger. Peirson had not discovered it. The verb should have been in the *subjunctive* (conditional), as in Eliot's version (see note on vers. 10). *Matchereúnganansh*, pl. of *matchereúnk* (and *-éwunk*, 'evil,' 'sin,' Cat. p. 7), verbal, 'being bad.' *Nomatcherehéaqueàguk* is intended for subj. participle, 3d pl.~1st pl. of *matchereheau* (*matchenehheau*, El.) 'he does badly to him,' but the pronominal prefix (*n'*) should not have been used with this mood.

6. Peirson's interlinear translation is "Lead-us-not into temptation." *Asquonsàkkongonan* is perhaps misprinted for *ahquon-*, but I can make nothing of the verb, except by its suggestion of Eliot's *sagkompanau* 'he leads, directs, him.' *Rame* is used by Peirson for 'in,' *re* for 'to,' but very loosely: *re* is Del. *li*, *liwi*, 'to' (Zeisb.), Abn. *ari*, postposition, 'to, with,' (Rasles).

7. 'Only deliver-us(?) from what-is bad.' The verb is irreducible. The base is *pohquohheau* 'he makes-free,' or 'delivers'; the prefix seems to be the 2d pers. pronominal. *Madjk'* = *matchuk*, El.

8. 'From (because) is-thine great-rulership, and strong-doing, and glory (?), great-while and great-while. So be it.' *Kèkatah* = Cree *kiya kit-ayan* 'thou it-is-thine' (v. 20b), Eliot's *kut-taihe* 'thine is,' (not *kut-ahtau-un* '*it* is thine, belongs to thee,' as in v. 10,) with the 2d per. pronoun repeated for emphasis. *Aíttarwejanúnguesówunk* is used throughout Peirson's Catechism for "glory," and in one place (p. 47) for "the attributes" of God. What may be its composition and literal meaning, I will not guess.

16. DELAWARE.

RENAPI, OF NEW SWEDEN.

From the translation of Luther's Catechism, by Rev. John Campanius, c. 1646.*

Nœk niræna, chijr jœni hœrítt mochyrick Hocquaéssung táppin:

1. Chíntikat chijre Rœaénse.
2. Phaa chijre Tutæænungh.
3. Hátte chéko chijr tahottamen, renáckot thaani Hocquaéssung, renáckot ock taani Hácking.
4. Niræna shéu póón pææta chijr jócke.
5. Ock chijr sinkáttan chéko nijr mattarútti hátte maranijto, renackot ock nijr sinkáttan chéko manúnckus Renáppi maranijto nijre.
6. Ock chijr, mátta bakíttan nijr, taan manúnckus Manétto.
7. Suck bakíttan niræna suhwijvan manúnckus.

Kitzi.

It is too late to correct the misnomer "Lenni Lenape" which, on Mr. Heckewelder's authority,† is now generally accepted as "the national and proper name of the people we call Delawares," though it is questionable whether more than a single one of the many tribes from which he constructed the great "Delaware nation" could pronounce this national name. In the language of the Indians who occupied the shores of Delaware Bay and the banks of the river as far up, at least, as the fork at Easton, *Renâpi* represents the pronunciation of the name which, in the Minsi or mission-Delaware dialect becomes *Lenâpe* — meaning an adult male of the speaker's tribe or nation, a man of his own kind. Zeisberger (Grammar, p. 35) remarks that "the Delaware Indians have

* *Lutheri Catechismus, öfwersatt pa American-Virginiske Spraket.* Stockholm, 1696. *Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum* is appended. The latter was again printed, with some additions, at the end of *Kort Beskrifning om Provincien Nye Swerige*, by Thomas Campanius (a grandson of John, the compiler), Stockholm, 1704, and was translated by Duponceau for the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. iii. pt. 1. The elder Campanius was minister of the Swedish colony on the Delaware for six years, 1643–48. His translation of of Luther's Catechism (with the Vocabulary) remained in MS. till 1696, when it was printed, by the care of his grandson, at the cost of the King of Sweden.

† *Account of the History &c. of the Indian Tribes* (1819), p. 25.

no *r* in their language," and Heckewelder repeats this,* but the latter adds that "it seems that in the time of the Swedes the tribes who lived on the banks of the Delaware used the letter *r* instead of *l*," but "those tribes were extinct before he came to this country." He elsewhere† refers to the work of Campanius as in "the pure *Unami* dialect of the Lenape," but gives no authority for this statement. That it was the *prevailing* dialect of Delaware tribes, when the country was first known to Europeans, we have sufficient evidence. The northern Delawares were called *Sankhicans* by the Dutch. De Lact‡ give a short Sankhican vocabulary which agrees, remarkably, with that of Campanius, compiled, some fifteen years afterwards, among the southern Delawares of New Sweden; and the few words preserved by William Penn as a specimen of the language of the Indians of Pennsylvania, in 1683, are unmistakably in the same dialect. Of the numerous Indian place-names in Thomas Campanius' account of the country on both sides of the Delaware (*Kort Beskrifning* &c., 1704), *l* is found in only one (*Alumingh*, at the Falls opposite Trenton), and it occurs but once on Lindström's map (1654–55) of New Sweden from Cape Henlopen to the Falls; but the sound of *r* was common, e. g. *Memiraco* or *Naraticon* (now, Racoon Creek, N. J.), *Arwames*, *Rancocus*, *Werentapecka*, *Techoherassi*. In the deed of Penn's purchase of lands near Neshaming, in 1682, Delaware river is named by its Indian "alias, *Makerisk* (or *Makerick*) *Kitton*,"§ i. e. 'the great main-river,' the prefix being *mochijrick* or *mochœœrick* 'great' (Camp.).

The Renapi version of Luther's Catechism (including the Lord's Prayer) is amusingly bad. The translator had not learned even so much of the grammar as to distinguish the plural of a noun or verb from the singular, and knew nothing of the "transitions" by which the pronouns of the subject and the object are blended with the verb.

* Introduction to *Indian Names of Rivers* &c. *in Pennsylvania.*

† *History of the Indian Tribes*, p. 316.

‡ *Novus Orbis* (1633), lib. iii., c. 12; pp. 75, 76.

§ Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 582. Heckewelder (*Indian Names* &c.) gave from deeds four forms of this name, one of which is *Makeerick Kitton*. He has mis-translated it, believing that "it was intended for Trenton Falls."

In re-printing, I have substituted *ω* for the *ω̃* used by Campanius. His consonants and vowels have, I infer, the Swedish sounds, *ch* = *k*, *j* = Engl. *y* or *ĭ*, *æ* = Germ. *ä*, &c.

'My-Father our thou yonder good great sky [high-place] sitting' ("Fader war tu som i then härliga höga himmelen sitter," Camp.). *Nœk* has the pronominal sign (*n*) of the first person and means 'my father,' but Campanius uses it as often with pronouns of the second or third person as of the first. He distinguishes the possessive pronouns from the personal, but not the plural from the singular: *nijr* stands for 'I,' 'me,' 'we,' or 'us,' *nirœna* for 'my' or 'our,' &c. Occasionally he adds *s* or *z* to a name, to form a genitive, as *nœkz* 'the father's' of 'of the father,' *hackingz* 'of the earth,' &c. *Chijr* (Mass. *keen*, Moh. *keah*, Ilin. *kira*) 'thou.' *Jœni* (*iœ-ni*, *yeu-ni*) a demonstrative, serves Campanius for 'this' and 'that,' 'these' and 'those,' 'here' and 'yonder': comp. Del. *jun* 'here,' *julak* 'yonder,' Zeisb. *Mochyrick* 'big,' 'large,' 'great,' used as adjective and adverb; comp. Mass. *mogki*, Len. *amangi* (Zeisb.) and *machkweu*. *Hocquaéssung* "heaven, sky" (Camp.); comp. *hockockque* "clouds, the sky," *hockung* "the high building; heaven; up, upwards." *Táppin* is used for 'to sit down,' in the indicative, imperative, or infinitive, without regard to number or person; Mass. *mattappu* 'he sits down.'

Chíntika for 'holy,' 'hallowed,' 'prayer,' &c., is one of the curiosities of Campanius's version: *Chintika Manetto* "the Holy Spirit," *mochyrick Sacchéman chintika* [big sachem holy] "bishop," &c. This word is from a verb which means 'to dance and sing' (Powhatan *kantokan*, *kantikantie*, Strachey), and which — corrupted to "canticoy" — was adopted by the Dutch and English settlers of New York and New Jersey to denote a social gathering or dancing party.* Dancing was a common accompaniment of Indian worship and so, in some sort, a religious rite; and the interpreter, who probably understood Swedish as imperfectly as Campanius understood the Delaware, could find no better translation

* See Notes on Words derived from N. A. Indian Languages, in this volume, p. 10.

for 'sacred' or 'holy' than '*kintakaye*' or *chintika*. *Rœaénse* 'name'; comp. Len. *elewunsu* 'he is called' (Zeisb.), and Ottawa *anosowin* 'name.'

2. 'Come thy kingdom.' *Tutœœnungh* is obscure: I find the word in the dialogue appended to the *Kort Beskrifning*, where a Sachem speaks of *nijrœna tutœœnung* "our country."

3. 'Have what thou wishest, so in-the sky, so also in-the earth.' *Hátte* is made to do service for 'to be,' and 'to have'; Len. *hattaü* "he has, it has, it is there" (Zeisb.), Mass. *ohtou*, *ohteau*. *Renáckot* = Len. *linaquot* "like unto" (Zeisb.).

4. 'Our always bread bring-us to-day': in the exposition of the prayer, this is varied to *pœton ock sheû póon* 'bring-it and always bread.' *Sheû* (*séu*, *saéwi* 'always,' Vocab.) is probably for *m'sheu*: comp. Mass. *micheme*, Chip. *mojag*. *Póón* (pronounced *po-aun*) = Abn. *aba"n* 'bread,' lit. 'what is baked': see vv. 6, 7, 9. *Pœœt* (*pä ät*) for 'give us,' means 'bring it'; Len. *petoon* 'to bring' (Zeisb.); Chip. *nin-bidon* 'I bring it'; *pœœt póon mitzi* "give me bread to eat" (Camp. Vocab.).

5. 'Also thou put-away what we badly have done, so-as also we put-away what bad men do [to] us.' *Sinkáttan* has in the Vocabulary and Catechism the several meanings of 'throw away,' 'drive out,' 'put away,' 'forgive': comp. Chip. *nin ságidinan* 'I put it out of doors, turn it out' (Bar.). *Manúnckus renáppi* 'bad man,' 'bad men'; *manúnckus Manetto* (bad manitou) 'the devil.' *Manúnckus* seems to be Len. *manunxu* "he is angry" (Zeisb.) and Chip. *maninagosi* "he looks ugly" (Bar.).

6. 'Also thou not cast-off us, to bad Spirit.' *Bakíttan* is Len. *pakiton* 'to throw *it* away'; Chip. *nin-pagidinan* 'I let it go,' 'abandon it.'

7. 'But cast-off our all bad.' *Suhwijvan* is used, without change of form, for 'all,' 'always,' 'everything,' &c. as adjective, adverb, and noun. *Kitzi* 'that is certain,' 'certainly': *kitzi matta* 'certainly not' (Vocab.): Len. *kitschiwi* "verily, surely," Zeisb.

17. DELAWARE.

"LENNI LENAPE" OF NORTHERN PENNSYLVANIA.

From Zeisberger's *Spelling Book* (1776) and *History of our Lord* (1806).* "Pronounce *a* like *aw* in *law*; *e* like *ay* in *say*; *i* like *ee*; *u* like *oo* or *ou* in *you*; *ch* nearly like Scottish *gh*; *j* like English *ž* in *in*; *g* like *g* in *gay*." For the termination of the verbal noun, here printed *-wâgan*, Zeisberger has *-woagan*; Hecke welder, *-wagan*.

[Ki] Wetochemellenk, [talli] epian awossagame:

1. Machelendasutsch ktellewunsowâgan;
2. Ksakimawâgan pejewiketsch;
3. Ktelitehewâgan leketsch talli achquidhakamike elgiqui leek talli awossagame;
4. Milineen juke gischquik gunigischuk achpoan;
5. Woak miwelendamau[w]ineen 'ntschanauchsowâgannena, elgiqui niluna miwelendamauwenk nik tschetschanilawemquengik;
6. Woak katschi npawuneen li achquetschiechtowâganink;
7. Schukund ktennineen untschi medhikink;
8. Ntite knihillatamen ksakimawâgan, woak ktallewussowâgan, woak ktallowilissowâgan; [ne wuntschi hallemiwi] li hallamagamik. Amen.

As translated by Mr. Heckewelder:

"Thou our-Father there dwelling beyond the-clouds; [1] Magnified (or, praised) -be thy name; [2] Thy-kingdom come-on; [3] Thy-thoughts (will, intention,) come to-pass here upon (or, all-over-the)-earth, the same as it is there in-heaven (or, beyond the clouds); [4] Give-to-us on (or, through)-this day the-usual (or, daily) bread; [5] And forgive-to-us our-transgressions (faults) the-same-as we-mutually-forgive-them who (or, those)-who-have-transgressed (or, injured)-us; [6] And let-not us-come-to-that that we-fall-into-temptation; [7] But (rather) keep-us free from all-evil; [8] For thou-claimest thy-kingdom, and the-superior-power, and all-magnificence. From heretofore ever (always). Amen (so be-it; so may-it-come-to-pass)."

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* *Essay of a Delaware-Indian and English Spelling Book, for the Use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River.* By David Zeisberger, missionary among the Western Indians. Philadelphia, 1776: sm. 8vo. p. 113. (Cited as Z. SB.) A second edition was printed in 1806.

The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. [Harmony of the Four Evangelists.] By Rev. S. Lieberkuhn; translated into the Delaware Indian Language by Rev. David Zeisberger. New York, 1821, 12mo. pp. 222.

I have copied the later text, supplying in brackets the words of the earlier (1776) which were omitted in revision.

"The Lord's Prayer in the Delaware Language," with a verbal translation, by Mr. Heckwelder, follows Zeisberger's earlier version, except in orthography, the use of a particle (*yun* for *talli*) in the 3d petition, and the omission of the final *li hallamagik*. This is printed with the *Correspondence* of Heckewelder and Duponceau, in *Trans. of Hist. & Lit. Com. of Am. Philos. Society*, i. 439. (Cited as Hkw.)

This *re*-translation — though not entirely accurate — is on the whole better than any other that I have had occasion to notice in this paper.

The dialect which Zeisberger and Heckewelder learned to speak and write was that of the Moravian mission stations in the forks of the Delaware, which — to distinguish it from the language actually spoken in the 17th century on Delaware Bay and River — we may call "mission-Delaware." The first Moravian converts among the American Indians were from Mohegan ("Mahikander") tribes, east of the Hudson, in Litchfield county, Connecticut, and Dutchess and Columbia counties, New York. Many of these Mohegans removed, between 1743 and 1755, to the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, and were gathered at Gnadenhütten (now Lehighton) on the Lehigh, at the mouth of Mahoning Creek, and north of the Blue Mountains. "Speaking a dialect of the same language, the Mohegans became the apostles of the Delawares,"* and it was through Mohegan interpreters that the missionaries, Fabricius and, afterwards, Zeisberger, learned the language which has been denominated "Lenni Lenape" and, more commonly, Delaware. This part of Pennsylvania, when the Moravians first became acquainted with it, was occupied by the migratory Shawnees (*Shawanos*,†) allies of the Delawares, and protegés of the Iroquois who asserted the right to dispose of Delaware territory at their pleasure. Some of these Shawnees joined the Mohegans and Delawares of Gnadenhütten on the Lehigh and Waiomik (Wyoming) on the Susquehannah. The language of a band of the Minsi or Monseys — the inland and northern Delawares‡ — may have been somewhat modified by constant intercourse and frequent intermarriage with the Shawnees.§ Hence, perhaps, the

* Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren,* transl. by Latrobe, (London, 1794), ii. 84, 85, 117; 73.

† Ib. i. 127, 128; ii. 32.

‡ "Even as late as 1742, the Minsi had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where Nazareth, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on the Lehigh, and others beyond the Blue Ridge," &c.—Heckewelder's *Hist. Account,* 34.

§ To the present time, the remnants of these two tribes maintain their ancient alliance: "considerable intimacy exists and intermarriages occur between the

adoption of the Shawnee *l* for the *r* or *n* of the Delaware proper, i. e. the language spoken on the river and bay of that name and along the coast. The northern (Minsi) dialect approximates more nearly than the southern to the Mohegan, and Mohegan interpreters probably imparted to the mission-Delaware some of their own peculiarities of pronunciation. The missionaries themselves, finding that "the Indian languages had no words for many new ideas and objects, were obliged to *enrich them* with several *English and German* words, and, by degrees, custom rendered these new terms intelligible."* How much of the Shawnee and Mohegan dialects and how many new grammatical forms they may have found it convenient to engraft on that of the Indians of Lehigh Valley and the Blue-Mountain region, cannot now be ascertained.

For the study of the mission-Delaware, Zeisberger's writings are the chief resource — particularly, his Delaware Grammar in Mr. Duponceau's translation (Z. Gr.)†. For modern Delaware, I have occasionally cited Whipple's vocabulary (Wh.) in the second volume of Pacific Railroad Reports, pp. 56–61, and Cummings's (Cumm.), in Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes, vol. ii., pp. 470–481.

Ki wetochemellenk was intended to mean 'thou who fatherest us.' In his grammar (p. 37) Zeisberger has *wetochemellenk* "O our father," as an example of the use of a vocative. The termination is that of the subjunctive present, transition of 2 s.~1 pl. 'thou . . . to us' (Gr. p. 168). This is perhaps one of the words with which the language was enriched by the missionaries. Zeisberger does not appear to have

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Shawnees and Delawares. There is also some resemblance in personal appearance, both wearing the moustache." — Whipple and Turner's *Vocabularies*, in *Report upon the Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1856). Zeisberger's first publication (the Delaware-Indian Spelling Book) was made after the removal of the Christian Indians (in 1772) from Pennsylvania to the Muskingum.

* Loskiel, History of the Mission of the U. Brethren, ii. 103.

† *A Grammar of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians.* Translated from the German manuscript of the late David Zeisberger, by P. S. Duponceau. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, iii. 65—250 (and separately, Philadelphia, 1827).

completely analyzed it, for after giving (Gr. 38) the inflections of *nooch* 'my father,' *kooch* 'thy father,' *noochena* 'our father,' he remarks that these are "formed from *wetoochwink*, father": but *wetoochwink* has the termination of an abstract verbal, and means 'fathering,' 'being a father,' — more accurately, 'being the *common* father' (of a family or race) or subjectively, 'having a common father,' 'a *with*-fathering.' The prefix *wet-* gives the meaning of 'with, together, in company' (*wit-*, Gr. 183): comp. Chip. *nin widjoossema* 'I have the same father as' (he has), *nin widjoossendimin* 'we have the same father, all of us' (Bar.).* "Our Father" would have been better translated by the primary *noochena* (Mass. *nœshun;* Moh. *noghnuh*, Edw., whose *gh* = *ch* of Zeisberger).

Talli (*taani*, v. 16) 'there, yonder'; Abn. *tahalo* (v. 6), Quir. *terre;* a compound of *ta* and *li*, 'there-in' or 'thereat.' *Epian* 'who sittest'; comp. Micm. *ebin* (v. 3, and note), Cree and Alg. *epian* (v. 9, 23). Zeisberger (Gr. 53) calls it an "adverbial form" of the verb *achpin* or *appin* "to be there, in a particular place," but in this he confounds it with *eyayan*, which he incorrectly assigns to a "local relative mood" of the verb *eu* or *waeu* 'he goes to a place' (Gr. 81): *appin* means (1) 'he sits,' (2) 'he remains, rests, is *permanent*. *Awosságame* 'heaven' (Z. Gr. 38), "beyond the clouds," Hkw., who evidently derives it from *awossi* 'beyond, the other side' (Narr. *awwusse* "further off," R. W.): but it seems to be related to Micm. *wasok* (vv. 2, 3, and note). Montagn. *ouascou*, *waskutsh* (v. 21), and to mean 'in the place of light,' 'where light is.' Comp. Chip. *aiassiwa* 'light,' *wasséia* 'it is light,' *owassamigonan* 'he illuminates it' (Bar.), Mass. *wohsum* 'it shines, is light,' and Del. *waseleu* 'clear, bright; (Z. SB.); Quir. *aûsequamuk* (v. 15).

1. *Machelendam* "to honor a person" (Z. Gr. 94), "to esteem, to value" (Z. SB.) *machelendasutch* "he shall be honored" (SB.). Here is an error which is very common in

* I have not overlooked what Heckewelder wrote to Duponceau about "the shades of difference between these several expressions" (given by Zeisberger, for "father") being "so nice and delicate" as to be of difficult explanation, &c. Mr. Heckewelder doubtless had a sufficiently good knowledge of "Lenni Lenape" Delaware as a *spoken* dialect, but his analyses are absolutely worthless.

Zeisberger's translations. The verb has not the passive form. *Machelendam* is one of the verbs in "*elendam*, which indicates a disposition of the mind," — belonging to Zeisberger's 3d conjugation (Gr. 50, 94); the prefix representing *macheli* 'much' (Z.). It cannot have an *animate* object, and the translation, "to honour a *person*," is wrong: the change of *-am* to *-asu* was intended to give it the passive form, but does not effect this: *-tch* is the sign of the future. The characteristic of the passive voice, in this class of verbs, is *g* or *k* in the penult: as in *nihillalgussutch* 'he shall *be* owned,' from *nihillatamen* 'I own' (Gr. 115), *pendaquotsch* (*pendakwotch*) 'he will be heard,' from *pendamen* 'he hears' (Gr. 100), &c. Zeisberger sometimes writes *q*, sometimes *g*, more often *x* (Gr. χ) for this characteristic, and in *The History of our Lord*, p. 3, he has the passive animate future of this same verb, *machelemuxutsch*, for 'he shall be [esteemed] great,' in Luke i. 15. Comp. Chip. *nind'ishpendán* 'I exalt, greatly esteem it,' *ishpendagosi* 'he *is* greatly esteemed, highly honored' (Bar.); but if the subject be *inanimate*, the form is *ishpend-jigade* '*it* is greatly esteemed.' These distinctions, existing in one or another form in all Algonkin languages, Zeisberger does not appear to have discovered in the Lenni Lenape.

Ktellewunsowâgan 'thy name,' from *elewunsu* 'he is called,' 'is *said*-to,' — and that from *luë'ü* 'he says' (Mass. *nœwau*, El.). All these verbals in *-wâgan* (of which eight occur in this version of the Lord's Prayer) are classed by Zeisberger as "substantives derived from *passive* verbs" (Gr. 40). It is easier to find a passive sense in 'name' ('being called'), than in 'kingdom' or 'sachemdom,' in the 2d petition, or in 'power' and 'glory' in the 8th.* The fact is, either the Lenni Lenape is, as compared with other Algonkin languages, singularly poor in verbal nouns, or — which is more probable — Zeisberger had learned only one of the half-dozen forms

* The examples which Zeisberger gives in his Grammar (l. c.) are all *really* passive verbals; e. g. "*wulakenimgussowâgan*, the being praised," "*schingalgussowâgan*, the being taken," "*pilsohalgussowagan*, purity" (*lit.* being made pure), &c. But these have the characteristic (*-gusso*) of the passive voice, preceding the formative (*-wâgan*) of the verbal noun.

in which verbs — active, intransitive, passive, causative, &c. — may be made to serve as nouns. Compare, for example, the Chippeway (see Baraga's Grammar, pp. 29–32):

dibaamáge 'he pays,'	*dibaamágewin* 'payment' (given).
nin dibaamágo 'I am paid,'	*dibaamágowin* 'payment' (received).
kashkendam 'he is sad,'	*kashkendamowin* 'sadness.'
minikwé 'he drinks,'	*minikwewin* 'drinking' and *minikwéssiwin* 'non-drinking,' temperance.
pakiteige, 'he strikes,'	*pakiteigan* 'a hammer'

3. *Leketsch* 'be it so,' imper. 3d sing. of *leke* 'it is so,' 'it is true' (which Zeisberger classes with "concessive conjunctions," Gr. 185), the indefinite-intransitive form of *le-u* 'it is so' (Gr. 57): comp. Mass. *nenaj*, Quir. *neratch*. For *talli*, Heckewelder has *yun* 'here.' *Achquidhackamike* = Chip. *ogidakamig* 'upon [the surface of the] earth,' 'above ground' (from *ogidj*' 'on, upon,' and *-kamig*, in compos. 'ground,' Bar.): in Zeisberger's Grammar (183), this synthesis is written *wochgidhackamique*, and the prefix, *wochgitschi*, "above, on the top, or on the surface of." The primary meaning is 'to cover,' and the root appears in Mass. *hogk-i* 'it covers.'

Elgiqui "as, in the same manner" (SB.) = Abn. *ereghikkœi*. *Leek*, subj. 3d sing. of *le-u* 'it is so,' = *elek* "as it is," Gr. 57, where it is incorrectly given as an impersonal form of *lissin* "to be *or* do so."

4. *Milineen;* Moh. *menenaunŭh* (v. 13), Cree *miyinan*, *meethinan* (vv. 20b, c.), Montagn. *mirinan* (v. 22), Illin. *miriname* (v. 32). *Juke gischquik* 'on this day'; in the earlier version (SB.) *eligischquik:* comp. Mass. *yeu kesukok*. *Gunigischuk* does not mean 'daily' but 'the day long,' *gunni-gischuk* = Mass. *quinni-kesuk* 'all the day,' 'the day long' (El.): comp. Quir. *konkesekatush* (v. 15, and note). *Achpoan* = Abn. *abaⁿn*, and *póón* (v. 16), which see: the *ch* must have been very lightly sounded, probably a mere aspirate, since it disappears in *n'd-appoan-um* 'my bread,' *w'dappoanum* 'his bread' &c. (Z. Gr. 39).

5. *Miwelendam* "he forgives" (Gr. 94), a better translation than that given in the Spelling Book: "to quit a place for sorrow, grief"! The prefix *mî* denotes 'removal' (see note on *mîyĭnan*, v. 20b); with *elendam*, the formative of

verbs expressing mental conditions or activities (see above, on 1st petition), it means 'to remove from mind,' 'to *dis*-mind,' so, 'to forgive.' The form here given is the imperat. 2d s.~1st pl. of *miwelendam-awa* 'he forgives (*it*) to (*him*).' *Tschanauchsowâgan* "fault, defect" (SB.); *tschetschanilawem-quengik* "those who trespass against us" (SB.); the former being a verbal from *tschannaüchsin* [*chanaüksin?*] "to fail, to miss" (ib.).

6. Heckewelder mis-translates here: if the form of the last word (another verbal in *-wâgan*) is correct, the meaning is: "And do-not we-do-*not*-come to trial (a being-tried)." *N'pawuneen* is the *negative* form of the indic. pres. 1st pl. of *peu* 'he comes': *katschi* "let it alone, don't do this" (Gr. 174), is from *ka* 'not,' a particle of prohibition (Montagn. *eka*, Alg. *ka*, *kawin*, Abn. *ekœi*, Mass. *akwi*), with the characteristic (*tsch*) of the imperative future. Zeisberger uses it with the imperative of prohibition, as, *katschi lissiham* "do not thou do so" (Gr. 58), *katschi pahan* "come thou not" (88), — but, in the indic. pres. negative, *matta n'pawuneen* "we do not come" (87): for *katschi* cannot properly be used before a verb in the indicative. *Li* "to, into" (Z.) is mistranslated by Heckewelder, "that." *Achquetschiechto-wâgan* (*akwetchi'ektowâgan*) with the locative affix, 'into trial'; comp. Mass. *en qutchhuaongan-it* (v. 10), Chip. *gódji-ton* 'he tries it,' *godjiewisiwin* 'trial, experiment' (Bar.); the root (Chip. *gódji*, *gwedji*, Mass. *qutche*, &c.) signifying 'to make trial of,' 'to prove.'

7. *Schuk*, *schukend* "only" (Z. Gr. 175), "but then" (SR.): *suck*, v. 16. *Ktennineen* is translated by Heckewelder "keep us free," — but cannot, in this sense, be traced to any known root. *Untschi*, Abn. *œtsi*, Chip. *ondji* 'from.' *Medhik* 'evil' (Z.), Mass. *machuk*, having the conditional (participle) form, cannot properly take the additional inflection, *-ink*.

8. *Ntite* — which in Zeisberger's Spelling-Book is translated 'I think' — is substituted in the revised version for *alod* of the earlier (1776). In the Grammar, *alod* 'there, yet' (176); *n'titechta* and *n'titechquo* 'then, while' (177). *K'nihillatamen*, not (as Hkw. translates) "thou claimest,"

but 'thou ownest, art master of' (Z. Gr. 114). *K'tallowilissowâgan* ("all magnificence" Hkw.) is from *allowi* 'most, supreme' (Mass. *anue* 'more than'), and *wulisso* "fine, pretty," "good, handsome" (Z. Gr.), = Mass. *wunnesu*. *Ne wuntschi* (Mass. *ne wutche*) 'this from,' 'from this (time).' *Hallemiwi* "eternal" (SB.), is from the same root as *allowi*, *eluwi*, 'more than,' "most" (Z.): comp. Abn. *a"ermiωi* 'in æternum' (R.), Moh. *hanweeweh* (Edw.).

For "Amen," Heckewelder has *nanne leketsch* "so be it; so may it come to pass"; *nanne* (*nahanne*, Z.; Mass. *neane*, *ne unni*, El.) '*such as* this,' 'so'; *leketsch*, as in 3d petition, imperat. 3d sing. of *leke* (the indefinite form of *leü* 'it is so,') means "let it be so': comp. *nanne leu* "it is certainly true" (Z. Gr. 174): Mass. *ne naj*, Abn. *nialetch*.

18. CREE (KNISTENO).

RED RIVER.

From *Prières, Cantiques*, etc. *en Langue Crise. Ayami'e Neïyawe Masinaïkan.* Montreal, 1857. Compiled by the Rev. J. B. Thibault, and printed in Evans's syllabic characters.

Notanan ki'tchi kisikôk eyayan:

1. Pitane miweyitchikatek kiwiyowin.
2. Pitane otchitchipayik kitipeyitchikewin.
3. Kaïsi natotakawiyan kisikōk pitane ekosi isi waskitaskamik.
4. Anots kakisikak mi'inân nipakwesikaniminân mina tatwaw kisikake.
5. Kaïsi kasinaṃawakitwaw ka-ki-matchitotakoyakwaw ekosi wi isi kasinamawinân kaki' matchitotamâk.
6. Pisiskeyiminân kitchi eka matchi mamitoneyitamâk.
7. Iyekatenamawinân kamayatak.

Pitane ekosi ikik.

"The Knistinaux, Klistinaux, Kristinaux, and, by abbreviation, *Crees*, are the most northern tribe of the Algonkin family. Bounded on the north by the Athapascas, they now extend, in consequence of recent conquests, from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains, though they occupy the most westerly part of that territory, on the north branch of the Saskachawan, in common with the Sioux Assiniboins. They have also spread themselves as far north as the Lake Athapasca. On the south they are bounded by the Algonkins and

Chippeways; the dividing line being generally that which separates the rivers that fall into James's Bay and the south-western parts of Hudson's Bay, from the waters of the St. Lawrence, of the Ottawa River, of Lake Superior, and of the River Winnipek."*

The Rev. J. B. Thibault had been a missionary among the western Crees, and in 1845 was stationed at Manitou (Lake St. Anne). When this prayer book was printed, he was living at the Red River Settlement (Assiniboia), where the dialect assimilates more nearly to the Chippeway than does that of the "Montagnais" or of the tribes near Hudson's Bay. "Those of the interior, as on the Saskátchewun," says Mr. Howse (Cree Grammar, 38), "affect more the flat (?) series, as *th* (in *this*), *b*, *d*, *z*, *j*, *g* guttural; as do the Chippeways also"; while among the tribes on the coast of the Bay, "the linguals are *th* as in *thin*, *t*, *s*, *st*, *ts*, *tch*, and their nasal *n*." At the Red River Settlement, continual intercourse between the Plain-Crees and northern Chippeways is likely to promote assimilation of dialects.

The characters used by Mr. Thibault do not distinguish *b* from *p*, *d* from *t*, or *g* from *k*. In translating, I have written, throughout, *p*, *t*, and *k*. Baraga remarks that it is, in fact, "often impossible to ascertain by the pronunciation of an Indian, whether the word begins with a *b* or *p*, with a *d* or *t*, with a *g* or *k*."

"The widely scattered tribes of this nation change the *th* [which Mr. Howse regards as the primitive sound,] consecutively into *y*, *n*, *l*, *r*; e. g. *wé-thă* ('he'), *wé-yă*, *wé-nă*, *wé-la*, &c. . . . In the cases where the Crees in the vicinity of the coast (lat. 57°), pronounce the *th*, the contiguous inland tribes of this nation always use *ĭ* or *y*; or at most, the *th* is so softly uttered that a nice ear only can detect it. More westerly, it is decidedly lost in the *ĭ* or *y*, as above" (Cr. Gram. 141). In passing from the Cree to the Chippeway, *th* always, and sometimes *t* and *d*, change to *n*; the Cree *s* is frequently omitted before *k* and *t*; and the nasals *m* and *n* are often inserted before *b*, *d*, and *g*.

* Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes* (1836), p. 23.

19. CREE.

SASKATCHEWUN?

From *Oregon Missions*, by Rev. P. J. De Smet. (New York, 1847.) p. 162.

Notanan kitsi kijikok epian:

1. Pitone mewaitsikatek kiwigowin,
2. Pitone otitamomakad kitibeitsikewin,
3. Ispits enatota kawigan kitsi kisikok, pitone ekusi iji waskitaskamik.
4. Anots kakijikak miinâni [ni]pakwejiganiminan mina tatwaw kigigake.
5. Canisi kaiji kasenamawayakik ka ki matsitota koyankik ekusi iji kasinamawinan eki matsitotamank.
6. Pisiskeiminan kitsi eka matsi mamitoueitamank,
7. Iekatenamawinan kamayatok. Pitone Ekeesiikik.

As translated by Father De Smet:

"Our father in the great heaven being seated: [1] May it be honored thy name. [2] [May it] arrive thy kingdom (reign). [3] Like thee being followed in the great heaven, may it be the same on earth. [4] Now in this day give us our bread, and in every day. [5] As we have remitted to those who have done [us] evil so likewise remit unto us what we have done evil. [6] Be merciful to us that we fall not into evil. [7] Keep away from us all what is evil. May it be so."

This version was probably obtained among the remote western Crees, near the Rocky Mountains, where the Rev. J. B. Thibault and Bourassa had begun mission work before Father De Smet visited the Fort of the Mountains and the north branch of the Saskatchewun, in 1845.

I have corrected two errors of transcription or the press, by restoring (in brackets) a lost prefix, and in the same petition, changing "*latwaw*" to *tatwaw*. "*Canisi*," at the beginning of the 5th petition, is certainly wrong as it stands, and perhaps should be omitted entirely, as the sense is complete without it. The interlinear translation is by no means accurate.

20. CREE.

From *Oo Meyoo Ahchemowin S. Matthew* (the Gospel of Matthew), London, 1853. The vowels as in English: *ah* for Italian *a*. In the text copied, the mark of the aspirate or hiatus is placed *over* the vowel, instead of *after* it as here printed.

N'o'otahwenahn ke'che kesikoo'k āyahyun:

1. Kittah we' ke'kahtaye'tahkwun ke we'eyuwin.
2. Ke tipaye'chekawin kittah oochechepaiyu.

3. A itaye'tumun kittah we' toochekahtaoo otah uskee'k, kah isse ahyahk ke'che kesikoo'k.
4. Meeyinahn ahnoo'ch kah kesikahk ka oo pa'hkwasekunimeyah'k.
5. Menah usainumowinahn ne mussinahikawinenahnah, kah isse usainumowuke'etchik unekee kah mussinahumahkooya'hkik.
6. Menah akahweyah ito'otahinahn wahyāseechekawini'k,
7. Mahkah meetahkwanumowinahn muche kakwi.
8. Keyah ket ahyahn ke'che otānowewin, wahwahch soo'kahtissewin, menah mahmechemikoowin, kahkeka.
   Amen.

20(b). CREE,

RED RIVER.

The same version as the preceding, with some dialectic variations and a few verbal corrections (distinguished by italics); transliterated from the Cree Prayer Book,* Archdeacon Hunter's translation. For the vowels: *a* as in *arm*, *e* as in *prey*, *i* as in *pique*, *ĭ* as in *pin*, *o* as in *so*, *œ* as *oo* in *tool*, or short, as in *foot*; *y* is always a consonant.

N'œtáwínán ki'tchi-kisĭkœkh eyáyan:

1. Kĭta wih ki'kateyi'tákwan ki-wi'yœwĭn.
2. Ki-tĭpeyi'tchikewĭn kĭta wih œtchitchipayu.
3. E ĭteyi'taman kĭta wih tœtchikáteu ota ăskíkh, ká ĭsi ayák ki'tchi kisĭkœkh.
4. Míyĭnán anœ'ts ká kisĭkák ke *œ'tchi pimátisĭyákh.*
5. Mína asenamawĭnán ni *matchi*'tiwĭninána, ká ĭsi asenamawakí'tchik anikĭ ká *wanitœtákœyákik.*
6. Mína ekáwiya ĭtœ'táĭnan *kœteyi'tœwĭnĭk.*
7. Máka mitákwenamawĭnán matchi kekwai.
8. Kiya kit ayán ki'tchi otenawiwĭn, wáwáts sœ'kátesiwĭn, mina mami'tchimĭkœwĭn, kákike *mina kákike.*
   Emen.

This version represents, I infer, the dialect of the mixed Crees ("Plain" and "Swampy") of Assiniboia; at the Red River Settlement, where Archdeacon Hunter resided, and the Mission village on the river below. In both of the forms given, it manifests better knowledge of the grammar and more familiar acquaintance with Cree idioms than do some earlier versions. The publication, in 1844, of Mr. Joseph

* *The Book of Common Prayer, . . . translated into the language of the Cree Indians of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, North-West America.* London Soc. for Prom. Chr. Knowledge, 1859. 12mo. Printed in Evans's syllabic characters.

Howse's valuable Cree Grammar had greatly facilitated the study of this language. In the following notes, I cite this grammar (H.), the Prayer Book (PB.) and the translation of Matthew's Gospel (Matt.).

N'ootáwínán (*n'ootáweenán*, H. 187) 'our father,' is correctly formed; but *notanan* in vv. 18, 19, certainly does not come from *n'ootáwi* 'my father,' i. e. 'I come from him.' *Eyáyan* (*iayan*, *i-i-án*, H.) 'thou who *art in*, who *dwellest in*': in v. 19, *epian* 'thou who sittest,' or 'remaineth.'

1. 'Let-it-be hereafter greatly-honored thy-naming.' *Kĭta* (*kătă*, *kuttă*, H.) "is a sign of the future tense, used in both [indic. and subj.] moods" (PB.)* and with the imperative indefinite (H. 204); here joined with *wih* (*we*, H.) "a particle expressing *wish* or desire, the sign of the optative [or subjunctive] mood" (PB.).

2. 'Thy mastery may it hereafter come-hither.' *Tipeyi-'tchikewin* (*tibeitsikewin*, v. 19), verbal noun from *tipeyi'tchike* (Chip. *dibéndjige*) 'he is master' (Bar.), literally, 'he owns,' 'is proprietor, or possessor'; whence, (2d pers. subj.) *tipeyi-'tchikeyân* 'thou who art Lord,' and *tipeyi'tchiket* 'the Lord' (PB.) = Chip. *debéndjiged*. The root, Cree *tipi* (Mass. *tâpi*, Del. *tepi*) means 'enough,' 'sufficient'; whence Chip. *debisi* 'he has enough, is satisfied,' Mass. *tapantam* 'enough-minded,' 'content,' and *tapenum* 'he is able,' i. e. suffices for &c. Chip. *dibaan* 'he pays (i. e. satisfies) for it,' *dibawan* 'he pays for him,' *dibéndan* 'he is the owner of (i. e. has paid for) it,' intrans. *dibéndjige*. *Ootchitchipayu* (*oochechepaiyu*, v. 20) 'it comes hither (*payu*) from (*ootche*)' somewhere else; comp. *wâthow óoche ne-peyitootán* "far-off-*from* I hither-come" (H. 289): Chip. *nind ondji-ba* 'I come from'; but the form which is here given to the verb cannot be the correct one.

3. 'As thou-so-willest may it hereafter be-done here on-earth which so is in-the-great-heaven': in v. 19, 'as-much-as is-observed thy [?] in-the-great-heaven, may-it be so

* The future sign *gă* (Chip. *kah*) used before the first and second persons, is changed into *kuttă* (*gă-tă*), Chip. *tah*, before the third person, sing. and plural." — Howse, 214.

on-earth.' *É* (*hè*, H.) 'as.' *Net'itaye'ten* 'I will' (Matt. viii. 3), is here in the subj. 2d sing.; Chip. *nind inéndam, enéndaman.* *Ota* (*o-tè*, H.; *u-te*, v. 22) 'here.' *Áskíkh* (*uskee'k*, v. 20, *astshitsh*, v. 22) with locative affix from *aski* 'earth': in vv. 18, 19, *waskitaskamik* 'on the surface (*wûskitch*, H.) of the earth' = Chip. *ogidakamig.* *Ká*, the relative pronoun — or what is made to serve as such — used only with the subjunctive. [With the indicative, *ká* is a negative, or rather, is employed to emphasize a negation, and it is also a sign of the *future tense.*]

4. 'Give-us now on-this day and henceforth our-living'; in v. 19, 'our loaves of bread'; in v. 20, 'our loaf-bread-ing.' *Mîyinán*, Montagn. *mirinan* (vv. 21, 22), 'give thou us,' or '*present* to us' — the root not implying, nor in fact being ordinarily used to denote, *free* giving, i. e. without anticipation of recompense: Chip. *nin mina* "I give him, make him a present, allow him something, *impose it upon* him" &c. (Bar.), *nin pagidina* "I give it to him absolutely," literally, 'I throw it away, or abandon it to him': comp. Abn. *ne-míra*^{n}, *ne-pisœïmira*^{n} (*pisœï* 'freely,' 'to no purpose'); and another Chip. verb, from the same root (*mî* 'apart,' Lat. *dis-*, nearly,) *nin migiwe* 'I give, contribute, present, allow,' Mass. *magou* 'he gives, parts with, barters, or sells' (El.), Del. *mēken* (Zeisb.). *Pimátisĭyákh* 'what we may live on'? (comp. *meecheyaik* 'what you may eat,' *meecheha'hk* 'what we may eat,' Matt. 6. 25, 31), from *pimatissu* 'he is alive,' i. e. *moves, goes*, subj. *pimatisit* (*pimahtisseyit*, Matt. 22. 32) 'living'; *pemahtissewin* "any thing that promotes life" (Chappell): comp. *pimoo'ta* 'walk,' Matt. 9. 5, *pemootayoo* "he walks, progresses" (H.). 'To live' is expressed in all Algonkin languages by one or the other of two verbs, denoting, respectively, 'to go,' and 'to be a man.' In vv. 18, 19, 20, 23 (Alg.), 25 and 26 (Chip.), 28 (Ottawa), and 31 (Menom.), we have different forms of the same name for 'bread' — Chip. *pakwejigan* — which was a name given by the Indians to French or English *loaves*, made to be *cut in pieces*, in distinction from the common Indian cake. Baraga employed this name for 'bread' in his Ottawa version, in 1846, but

in his Otchipwe Dictionary (1853) gives its exact meaning: "When Indians first saw white people cutting pieces off from a loaf of bread, they called the bread *pakwéjigan*, that is to say, a *thing from which pieces are cut off*": from *nin pakwéjige* 'I cut off a piece'; comp. verb anim. *nin pakwéjwa* 'I circumcise him'; *nin pakwéjan* 'I cut it,' &c. (Bar.).

5. 'Moreover blot-out-for-us our badnesses-of-heart so as we-may-blot-out-to (pardon) those who do-amiss-to-us.' *Kaïsi . . . . ekosi* (v. 18), *gà ísse . . . . ec'co'se* (H.), 'as . . . . just so.' *Mínă*, *menah*, 'and, again' (H. 242), Chip. *minawa* 'again, more, anew' (Bar.), Abn. *mina* 'encore' (R.). *Asenamawinán* (*usainumowinahn*, v. 20) 'forgive us'; comp. Chip. *gássiamawan* 'he blots him out, absolves, pardons him,' and *kasinamawakitwaw* 'absolve us' (v. 18). In all the versions this verb in the second clause has the transition form of 3d ~1st pl. subjunctive instead of 1st~3d pl., and means 'they forgive us'—instead of 'we forgive them.' *Ne-matchi'tĭwininána* 'our badnesses of heart,' 1st pers. double plural of *matchi'tĭwin*, verbal from *matchi'taï*, Chip. *matchidée* 'he has a bad heart, is wicked,' from *matchi* 'bad' and *-dé* (in compos.) 'heart.' In v. 20, a word meaning 'debts,' 'our owings,' is used,—the double plural of *mussinahikawin*, literally, 'a writing' (as in Matt. 5. 31) or 'book account.' *Aniki*, *unekee* (Chip. *igiw*, *egewh*) 'those,' anim. plur. of *unnă* (Chip. *iwi*, *aw*). *Wanitœtákœyákik*, lit. 'they who amiss-do-to-us: *wan-*, as a prefix, means 'out of the way,' 'astray,' 'amiss' (Mass. *wanne*): *ke-wannaytootowwow* "you do not use him well," Chappell.

6. 'Moreover do-not that-we-go into trial.' The last word, from a root meaning 'to make trial of' (see *qutchhuaongan-it*, v. 10), is substituted in v. 20b. for *wahyāseechekawin-ik*, v. 20, 'that we err' or 'go astray.'

7. 'But take-away-from-us bad anything.' *Tákwa-num* "he grasps, holds it" (H. 93), has the prefix *mi* 'apart,' 'away from.' The primary *takwa-*, Chip. *tako-*, means 'held fast,' 'seized.' *Kakwai* (*kékwan*, H. 189; Chip. *gégo*) 'something, anything,' indef. pronoun.

8. 'Thou, thine-is great property (possession, riches), likewise strong-heartedness, moreover (glory?), Always more-yet

always.' *Net-ahyahn* (Matt. 20. 15) 'is mine'; *keyah ket-ahyahn* (v. 20), *kétha ket'ián* (H.), Chip. *kin kid'aïim*, 'it is thine.' *Otenawiwin*, Chip. *daniwin*, 'what one owns, property, *having* or *holding*.' *Wáwáts*, *wâuwauj* (H.) 'likewise.' *Sœ'kátesi-win* 'strong-heartedness'; *sōk-issu* 'he is very strong, firm in mind, determined' (H. 175), *sōketay-áyoo* 'he is strong-hearted, bold' (H. 144; Chip. *songidee*); whence, anim. adj. *sōketay-issu*, *sœ'kátesi*, and verbal in *-win*. *Mami-'tchimikœwin* for 'glory,' appears to be related to Chip. *mamik-wadam* 'he praises,' *mamikwadan* 'he glories in it' (Bar.).

20(c). CREE.

WESTERN COAST OF HUDSON'S BAY.

Archdeacon Hunter's translation, in Howse's orthography. [Pronounce "*a* as in *far*; *à* as in *father*; *â* as in *all*, *awe*; *e* as in *me*; *è* as in *fate*; *i*, before a vowel or final, as in *mine*; *i*, before a consonant, as in *pin*; *o* as in *so*; *oo* as in *moon*; *u* final as in *pure*, or as the pronoun *you*; *ai* as in *fair*; *ay* as in *may*." — Howse Gr. 38.]

N'ootáweenan kéche kéesikook[1] íayán (*or*, í-i-an):

1. Kúttă we kekatethitaikwan[2] ke-wethâyowin.
2. Ke-tipayichikewin kúttă we óochechepeyoo[3].
3. Hè itethetúmmun kúttă we tóochegatáyoo[4] ótè assiskeek kà ísse i-àk keche kéesikook.
4. Méethinan annóoch kà kéesikàk ke ootche pimátisiyák.
5. Ménă kâssemaywinnán ne-mútchitiwinenána[5] kà isse kâs-semaywakaitchik[6] únnekee kà wanitootákooyákik.
6. Ménă egàwétha itóotàyinan kootayitoowinik.
7. Mógga mitakwenamawinnán mútche kékwan[7].
8. Kéthă ket'ián kéche ootenaywiwin, wâwauj sóketaysiwin, ménă mahmechemikoowin[8], kŏkekáy ménă kŏkékay. Èmen.

I have not found any version of the Lord's Prayer in the dialect of the Hudson's Bay Crees, as exhibited in Howse's Grammar; but to facilitate reference to that grammar, for verbal forms, I have attempted to *transliterate* Archdeacon Hunter's version, to Howse's orthography.

[1] For *keesik* 'sky,' Chappell's vocabulary* has *keshich*, and *keshicow* for 'day.' Howse remarks that "on the coast, *sh* is

* Vocabulary of the Indians inhabiting the western shores of Hudson's Bay, in Appendix to Lieut. Edward Chappell's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1817).

used for *s* of the interior" (Gr. 38), but he more commonly writes *s:* e. g. *móosuk* 'always,' for *mooschuk*, Chappell.

[2] *We* requires the optative or *subjunctive* passive participle — which, according to Howse, terminates, when the subject of the verb is inanimate, in *-âk* or *-áik* (Gr. 115, 228). The form given in v. 20 is that of the *indicative* passive inanimate, in *-wun* (Gr. 115).

[3,4] These verbs seem likewise to have the form of the *indicative* (animate) instead of the required conditional (inanimate); *-ów*, *-oo* for *-âk* or *-áik*. *Ootchichipayu* seems to be compounded of *óoche* (Chip. *ondji*, Mass. *wutche*) 'from' and the primary verb 'to come,' but it is irreconcilable with any form given by Howse; see note on v. 20b.

[5] Howse has both *mûtch-issu* 'he is wicked,' and *mathât-issu* 'he is bad.'. The last means 'bad-hearted'; see note on v. 20b. *Mútche*, primarily, denotes that which is externally bad, ugly, unpleasant, e. g. *mútche kéesikàk* 'an ugly day' (H. 294).

[6] The transition form is wrong: *-aitchik* (*-átchik*, Howse), is 3d~3d pers. pl. subjunctive (required after *kà isse*), 'they . . . to them,' instead of 1st~3d pl. in *-eetwów* 'we . . . to them' (Howse, 217).

[7] *Mútche kekwan* 'bad something,' whatever is bad; but Howse would probably write instead, *gà mathatissik* 'that which is bad.'

[8] I transfer this word for 'glory' as it stands in v. 20,—in uncertainty as to its meaning.

21. MONTAGNAIS.

(NEAR QUEBEC.)

Father Enm. Massé, in Champlain's *Voyages*, 1632*. In transcription, *œ* has has been substituted for *ou* of the original text.

Nœtaœynan ca tayen œascœpetz:
1. Kit-ichenicassóuin sagitaganiœísit.
2. Pita ki-œitapimacœ agœé kit-œténats.

* Father Enemond Massé, S. J. came to Port Royal in 1611, with Biard, and for a year or two prosecuted the study of the Souriquois (Micmac) language. When the French post at St. Sauveur was broken up by Capt. Argal, Massé returned to France. He came back in 1625, and labored among the Algonkins and Montagnais, near Quebec, till 1629, when the town was taken by the English. See Shea's *Am. Catholic Missions*, 134.

3. Pita kikitœoin tœotaganiœoísit assitz, ego œascœptz.
4. Mirinan œcachigatz nimitchiminan, œechté teœch.
5. Gayez chœeriméœinan ki maratirinisitã agœé œechté ni chouerimananet ca kichiœahiamitz.
6. Gayeu ega pemitaœinan machicaœintan espich nekirak inaganiœiacœ.
7. Miatau canœeriminan eapech.

Pita.

Interlined translation:

"Nostre père qui es és-Cieux: [1] Ton-nom soit-en-estime. [2] Ainsi soit-que nous-soyons-avec toi en ton-royaume. [3] Ainsi-soit-que ton-commandement soit-fait en-la-terre comme au-Ciel. [4] Donne-nous aujourd'huy nostre-nourriture comme tousiours. [5] Et aye-pitié-de-nous si nous-t'avons offencé ainsi-que nous-avons-pitié-de-ceux qui nous-ont-donné-suject-de-nous-fascher. [6] Aussi ne nous-permets t'offenser lors-que nous y-serons induits. [7] Mais conserve-nous tousiours. Ainsi-soit."

The tribes called, by the French, *Montagnais* and *Montagnars*, spoke a Cree dialect. The local idiom of this version is that of the neighborhood of Quebec. (The mission at Tadoussac, near the mouth of the Saguenay was not established till 1641.) In the *Relation de la Nouvelle France* for 1634 (Quebec ed., p. 76), are two prayers in this dialect, with interlinear translations, by Father Paul Le Jeune, who has given, in the same Relation (pp. 48–50), a good account of "la Langue des Sauvages Montagnais"; and a few Montagnais words and phrases are found in Le Jeune's Relation for 1633 and (mixed with Algonkin, of Sillery,) in Vimont's for 1643.

N'œtawi 'my father'; *n'œtáwenán* (H. 187) is the form with the plural pronoun, 'our father.' *Ca* = "*kâ* or *gâ*, an indeclinable particle, representing, in Cree and Chippeway, the relative pronoun, referring to a *definite* antecedent" (H. 189). *Ouascoupetz*, here, and in the versions of the Creed and the Salutation, Massé puts for "es *cieux*"; *ouascouptz* (as in 3d petition) for "au *ciel*." Le Jeune gives *ouascou* for 'heaven,' and in the locative, *ouascou-eki* 'in heaven,' = *uaskutsh*, v. 22.

1. *Sagitaganiœísit*, which Massé translates by "soit en estime," is from a verb which is usually translated by 'to love': comp. "*khi-sadkihitin* je t'aime" (Le J.); subj. *sáhkehittán* "that I love thee" (H. 220): *sákechegàtáyoo* 'it is loved,' *sàkechegàsoo* 'he is loved' (H. 227, 116). The form

here given is not exactly correct; in later versions, another verb is substituted (see v. 20).

2. *Pita* = *pittane* 'would that!' (H. 243), *pitane* (v. 18), requires the subjunctive or additional mood of the following verb. *Kiœ̀tapimaco* 'we sit with thee'; comp. *ne-wétáppĕmów* 'I sit with (co-sit) him,' H. 129. *Kit-œténats* 'in thy village,' from *œtena* (Chip. *oděna*, Mass. *otan*) 'village, town,' lit. the place to which one *belongs*.

3. *Ki-kitœin* 'thy saying,' 'what thou sayest': comp. *khik-hitouina* 'thy words,' Le J. *Tœganiœisit* for 'be it done,' but the form employed denotes the action of an *animate* subject on an *inan.* object. *Assitch*, for *astitch*, 'on earth'; *asti* (= Cree *uskee*) 'earth,' with the locative suffix which is used in this version; comp. *ouascope-tz*, *œtena-ts*, *œcachiga-tz*.

3. *Mirinan* = *mi'inan*, v. 18. *Oucachigătz* 'on this day,' 'to-day,' = *oukachiga-khi* (Le J.), *ukashigatsh* (v. 22), Cree *kakijikak*, *kakisikak*, vv. 18, 19. *Ou-mitchimi* 'food,' *khi-mitchimi* 'thy food' (Le J., 1634); here, in the first person plural, *ni-mitchim-inan* 'our food.'

5. *Gayez* = *gaié* (Le J.) 'and': see note on v. 10. *Chœeri-minan* 'have mercy on us'; Chip. *nin jawénima* (with inan. obj., *jawéndán*) 'I have mercy on,' lit. 'I am kindly disposed towards' him, or it.* *Ki* (*ké*, H.) 'if,' 'whether — or not.' *Maratirini-*, comp. Chip. *nin mánadenima* "I think he is bad, wicked" (Bar.), *mánádad* "it is bad, unpleasant, unfit" (id.): the root signifies 'improper,' 'unseemly'; 'not to be done, or said.' *Agœé* (*cou*, Le J., Cree *écco*) 'thus, so as.' *Ca kichiœahiamitz* (*tsishiuaïamitjits*, v. 22) 'those who make us angry'; Cree *kissewâ-su* 'he is angry,' *kissewâ-hayoo* 'he makes him angry' (H. 40, 167).

* The Algonkin name for the 'south' or 'south-west,' — whence the denomination of 'southern' tribes, variously corrupted as "Chaouanons," Shawanos, Shawnees, Savanoes, Chawonocks, etc., — comes from the same root as Chip. *jawen-dan*. Comp. Narr. *sowwanishen* 'the wind is from the south-west': "This (says Roger Williams, *Key*, 86,) is the *pleasingest*, warmest wind in the Climate, most desired of the Indians, making fair weather ordinarily; and therefore they have a tradition, that to the south-west, which they call *Sowanìu*, the gods chiefly dwell, and hither the souls of all their great and good men and women go." To the Indian, *sowan-auki* was, primarily, 'the *pleasant* country,' 'happy land,' and *sowananitou* ("*Sowwanànd*, the southern God," R. W.) was 'the kind, beneficent, *manitou*.

6. *Ega* (*eg'â* and *ithka*, H.; Abn. *é'kœi*) 'do not'; *ecco touté* 'do not do it' (Le J.) = *egà toota*, H. *Pemitaœinan* 'conduct us to' (inan. object). *Espich* = Cree *ispéese* (H.), *ispee'che* (Matt.), 'when, whilst.'

7. *Canœeriminan* 'take care of us'; Chip. *nin ganawenima* 'I keep, take care of him.' *Eapech* 'always,' *eapitch*, Le J.

22. MONTAGNAIS.

SAGUENAY RIVER AND LAKE ST. JOHN.

Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe Massinahigan. Uabistiguiatsh (i. e. Quebec), 1767.

N'uttauinan, tshir uaskutsh ka taien:

1. Tshitshituaueritaguanusin tshitishinikasuin.
2. He nogusiuane pitta taiats.
3. Tshi pamittagauin nete uaskutsh, pitta gaie pamittagauien u-te astshitsh.
4. Anutsh ukashigatsh mirinan ni mitshimiminan, meshutsh gaie kashigatsh mirinan.
5. Nama nigut nititeritenan auiets ka tshi tshishiuaiamitjits, eka gaie tshir nigut iteriminan ka tshishiuaitats.
6. Eka irinauinan ka ui sagutshihiguiats he iarimatjs.
7. Tiaguetsh ui irinikahinan metshikauatjs maskuskamatsi. Egu inusin.

The *Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe Massinahigan* (Montagnais Prayer Book) was prepared by Father J. B. de la Brosse, S. J., who in 1766 succeeded Father Cocquart in the missions at Tadoussac, on the Saguenay, and about Lake St. John. In the approbation (by Bishop Briant) prefixed to the volume, the compiler's name appears in its Montagnais form as *Tshitshisahigan*, i. e. 'the broom' (la brosse). The title page shows that the manual was designed for all the praying Indians "who live at Shatshegu, Mitinekapi, Iskuamisku, Netskeka [Lake Nitcheguan?], Mishtassini ['the great rock,' on the river of that name, between Lake St. John and Hudson's Bay], Shekutimi [now, Chicoutimi, near Lake St. John], Ekuani [Agwanus, on the St. Lawrence?], Ashuabmushuani [now Assuapmouson, one of the King's Posts, in Saguenay county], and Piakuagami [Picoutimi, on Lake St. John], and all Nehiro-Irinui places, every where."*

* For the use of this rare volume—reputed to be the first book printed at Quebec—I am indebted to Mr. George Brinley.

The differences of dialect between this and the preceding version are less considerable than they appear on first inspection. That the two have so few words and forms in common indicates, not the inconstancy of the language, but the progress made between 1632 and 1766 in knowledge of its vocabulary and grammar. The most striking peculiarity of dialect is the change of *k* to *tsh;* e. g. *tshir* for *kir* ('thou') in the invocation; *tshitshi* for *kitchi* 'great'; *astshitsh* for *uskeek* 'on earth,' etc. Howse (Gr. 316) quotes a remark that "on the East-main side of Hudson's Bay, *t(ch)* is in general used in the pronunciation of words instead of the *k* (or *c* hard) used on the West side of the Bay, as *tchissinow* for *kissinow* 'it is cold (weather),' *tché-y-a* for *kétha* 'thou.'"

La Brosse writes *u* for Fr. *ou: n'uttauinan* for *noutaouynan* of Massé, *uaskutsh* for *ouascoueki* of Le Jeune, *tshit'ishinikasuin* for *kit'ichenicassóuin.*

'Our-father thou in-heaven who art-there: It-is-made-very-great (honorable) thy-name.' With *tshitshitua-ueritaguanusin;* comp. Chip. *kitchitwa-wendagwad* 'it is honored, holy,' and causat. anim. *nin kitchitwa-wendagosia* 'I make him glorious, honored, exalted,' etc. (Bar.).

3. 'As-thou-art-served yonder-in heaven, would-that also thou-mayest-be-served here-in earth.' 4. 'Now to-day give-thou-us our food, always also daily give-thou-us-it.' *Kashigatsh* = western Cree *kesikahk* (v. 20); *meshutsh* = *mœsŭk* (Howse), *mooschuk* (Chappell).

23. ALGONKIN (NIPISSING).

LAKE OF THE TWO MOUNTAINS.

Catechisme Algonquine, Moniang (Montreal), 1865.* [The vowels as in French: *e* as *é; œ* for *ou* and (before a vowel) Engl. *w; ch* as Engl. *sh; g* always hard.]

Œenidjanisimiang, œakœing epian:
1. Kekona kitchitœaœidjikatek kit ijinikazoœin.
2. Kekona pitchijamagak ki tebeningeœin.

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* The same version, with a French translation, is printed in *Jugement Erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les Langues Sauvages,* par l'Auteur des *Études Philologiques* (2me éd. Montreal, 1869), p. 100. It is also printed in a R. C. *Recueil de Prières,* "a l'usage des Sauvages de *Temiscaming,* d'*Abbitibi,* du *Grand Lac,* de *Mataœan,* et du *Fort William,*" published (by authority of the Vicar-General) at Montreal, 1866.

3. Kekona iji papamitagon aking engi œakœing.
4. Ni pakœejiganiminan neningokijik eji manesiâng mijichinam nongom ongajigak.
5. Gaie iji œanisitamaœichinam inikik nechkiinang eji œanisitamaœangitch aœia ka nichkiiamindjin.
6. Gaie kaœin pakitenimichikangen kekon œa pachiœinigoiangin;
7. Taiagœatch atchitch ininamaœichinam maianatak.
Kekona ki ingi.

Translation:

"Toi qui nous as pour enfants, au ciel qui es, [1]qu'il soit dit saint ton nom, [2]qu'il arrive ton règne, [3]qu'ainsi tu sois obéi sur la terre comme c'est dans le ciel. [4] Notre pain chaque jour comme nous en avons besoin, donne-le nous aujourd'hui. [5] Et ainsi oublie pour nous ce en quoi nous te fâchons comme nous oublions pour quelqu'un qui nous a fâchés. [6] Et ne nous abandonne pas quelque chose qui va nous séduire; [7] au contraire de côté écarte pour nous ce qui est mal. Qu'il en puisse être ainsi."

The *Catechisme Algonquin* from which this version is taken was prepared for the use of the few Algonkins who still remain at the mission village of the Lake of the Two Mountains, near the western extremity of the Island of Montreal. This mission was established by the Sulpitians in 1720, and to it was soon afterwards transferred a Nipissing and Algonkin mission which had been begun on the Isle aux Tourtes.*

The dialect is not precisely that which the first Canadian missionaries — because it was the first which they learned, of the many local dialects spoken along Ottawa river and westward to the great lakes — regarded as "franc Algonquin." The Jesuits reckoned "more than thirty nations" of the Upper Algonkins,† all speaking the same language, with no greater diversity of dialect than may be found in the speech of Englishmen of different counties, or between Parisian and provincial French. Baraga's "Otchipwe Grammar" and "Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language" are as serviceable for the study of one as of another of these dialects. "Several other tribes," he says, "speak the same [Otchipwe, or Chippeway] language, with little alterations. The principal of these are the *Algonquin*, the *Ottawa*, and the *Potawatami* tribes. He that understands well the Otchipwe language will easily converse with Indians of these tribes" (Otch. Gr. 5).

* Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, 333, 334.

† Relations, 1658, p. 22; 1670, p. 78.

The modern "Algonquin" of the mission of the Lake is, in fact, nearly identical with the *Nipissing*, — differing somewhat from the dialect spoken at the same mission, in the last century. A *Cantique en langue Algonquine*, composed by a former missionary, M. Mathevet, has been lately printed, with a version in the modern (Nipissing) dialect, and notes, by the author of *Études Philologiques* (M. Cuoq).* In Mathevet's orthography, *l* is used in the place of *n* of the modern dialect, but the editor remarks that "in the most ancient manuscripts, *r* has the preference." Where the original version has *tch*, the modern substitutes *dj*, — *ondjita* for *ontchita*, *œendji* for *ontchi*, etc., but M. Cuoq suggests that "the *Algonquin dialect which formerly prevailed* at the mission of the Lake" may have required the *tch:* but "il en serait autrement aujourd'hui *qu'a prévalu le dialecte Nipissingue.*"

Œenidjanisimiang 'thou who hast us as thy children,' whose children we are. *Nidjanis* 'child' (as related to the parent), 'offspring'; *o-nidjanis-i* 'he has a child' (JE.† 81), the prefix *o* denoting possession or 'having.' The conditional (or, as it is distinguished by the author of *Études Philogiques*, the "éventuel") mood changes *o-* to *œe-* and with the transition of 2 sing.~1 pl. gives *œe-nidjanisi-mi-ang* 'thou who hast us children.' This synthesis is one of the many by which missionaries have sought to define the fathership *of* God and to avoid the ascription of *natural* paternity. The objection to this is, that its root is immediately suggestive of natural paternity: comp. Mass. *neese*, *neesh* 'two,' *neechau* 'she gives birth to a child, is delivered,' *neechan*, pl. *neechanog*, 'issue,' 'offspring,' 'children,' *wun-neechan-oh* 'his children' (El.); Chip. *nij* 'two,' *nigian* 'she gives birth to' (an infant), *onidjáni* 'the *female* of any animal,' *nind'onidjanissi* 'I have a child or children,' *onidjanissima* (pass.) 'he is had for a child,' &c. *Wakwi* (*œakœi*) 'heaven' is marked by Baraga as an *Ottawa* name (comp. vv. 24 and 28): perhaps related to *œakami* 'it is clear,' 'bright'; perhaps to Montagn.

* "Études Philologiques sur quelques Langues Sauvages de l'Amerique; par N. O., ancien missionnaire." (Montreal, 1866.) See page 9, ante.

† "Jugement Erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les Langues Sauvages, par l'auteur des *Études Philologiques.*" 2me ed. refondue. Montreal, 1869.

œaskœ (vv. 21, 22). *Epian* (*ébian*, Bar.) from *api* "to be there, to be present, to be seated" (JE. 67).

1. *Kekona*, a "conjunction optatif," which Cuoq translates by "plaise à Dieu que." *Kitchitœaœidjikatek* 'it be spoken in honor'; Chip. *kitchi* 'great, pre-eminent,' *kitchitwa* 'honorable, holy, saint' (Bar.): comp. Montagn. v. 22. *Ijinikazoœin* 'so-calling,' name; so, Chip. vv. 24, 26, 27; Montagn. *ishinikasuin* (v. 22), Pota. *ishnukas'wan* (v. 30), Blkf. *'tzinnekazen.*

2. *Pitchijamagak* 'it may come here,' subj. 3d pers.: the root *pi* denotes 'coming to' the speaker; *pitchija* (Chip. *bi-ija* and *bidjija*) 'he comes *here*'; *pitchijamagat* (*bidjijamagad*) '*it* comes here' = Mass. *peyaumœ*. *Tibeningeœin* (*dibendjigeœin*, Bar.) 'mastery, ownership'; (see v. 20b, and note).

3. *Iji . . . engi*, 'so as . . . so be it.' *Papamitagon* "thou mayest be obeyed," — so M. Cuoq translates, but *-gon* is the termination of the *indicative* present (see paradigms in Et. Phil. 58, 59, and Bar. Gr. 229); the subjunctive 2d sing. terminates in *-goian:* Chip. *ki babamitago* 'thou art obeyed,' *o babamitagon* 'he is obeyed,' subj. *babamitagoian* 'if (or, as &c.) thou art obeyed,' or 'thou mayest be obeyed.'

4. *Pakœejigan* (Chip. *pakwéjigan*) "a thing from which pieces are cut off"; see Cree version 20b, and note. By the first Algonkin converts, this must have been understood as a petition for French bread. But *pakœejigani-minan* (Chip. *-minag*) means 'loaf-bread grain,' i. e. *wheat*, as distinguished from *manda-minag* 'Indian corn.' The author of *Jugement Erroné* (p. 69, note) regards the final *-minan* as the mark of the progressive, '*our* bread,' but Baraga is unquestionably correct, as it seems to me, in referring it to the generic *min*, pl. *minan* and *minak*, 'grain.' If the *m* of *minan* marks the possessive, the petition is for 'bread which is (already) *ours*,' — not that bread may be given us. *Neningokijik* ("each day," JE.), means '*once a day*,' Chip. *neningo-gijig;* comp. *neningo gisiss* 'once a month' (Bar.). *Eji manesiâng* 'when so we want'; *iji* 'so' takes the vowel-change of the conditional mood: *manesiâng* is the subj. 1st pl. of anim.-intrans. *manési* 'he wants, needs,' from *mané* "signifying *want, scarcity*" (Bar.) — and that, from *mán*, *mána*, "in compos.,

bad." *Mijichinam* 'give thou us,' imptv. 2d s.~1st pl. of *ni mina* 'I give to (him)', 'I *part with it*, or *put it from* me, to (him),' the root *mi* denoting 'away from,' 'apart' (see Cree v. 20b, note); it is one of a class of verbs which, in the transition to 1st person objective, changes *n* to *j* (Bar. Gr. 242). *Nongom* 'now, presently.' *On-gajigak* 'in this day,' or 'while this day is'; Chip. *gajigak*, the conditional form (participle, Bar.) of *gijigad* 'it is day'; Mass. *kesukok*, Cree *kisikokh:* the prefix *on* is demonstrative, 'this here.'

5. *Gaie* (Mass. *kah*) 'also,' "is ordinarily put *after* the word that is connected by it to another word, like the Latin *que*" (Bar. 489), and probably should *always* be so placed. "So forget-thou-to-us the things which we-make-thee-angry as we-forget-to-them anybody who may have made-us-angry." *Wanisitam* 'he loses it from mind,' 'forgets it,' but the verb is out of place in this petition: the prefix *wani* "in composition signifies *mistake, error*" (Bar.), primarily, 'going out of the way,' 'going astray,' and always implies something 'amiss,' or *undesirable* loss: Chip. *nin wania* "I lose him, I miss him"; *nin wanéndama* "I lose my senses, I faint," *nin wanisse* "I mistake, I commit a blunder," *wanissin* "it gets lost," *wanisid manito* "unclean spirit, devil" (Bar.), Mass. *wanne wahteóe* "without knowledge," *wanneheont* 'one who loses, a loser,' &c. (El.). *Nichki-* (Chip. *nishki-*) in compos. 'angry [primarily, 'troubled,' 'disturbed,' '*roiled*,'—whence, in the eastern dialects, numerous derivatives taking the meaning of 'foul,' or 'unclean': Mass. *nishkenon* (Del. *niskelaan*, Chip. *niskádad*) 'bad, dirty weather,' Del. *nisk'su* "nasty" (Zeisb.), Mass. *nishkheau* 'he defiles (him),' &c.]: *ni nichki-a* 'I make him angry, offend him'; subj. 1 pl.~2 sing. *nechki-iang* 'if we . . thee'; passive, "eventual" mood, preterit, 1 pl.~3s. *ka nechki-iamindjin* 'in case that we have *been* . . . by him,' i. e. 'that he has . . . . us' [Cuoq, 66, 58]; Baraga does not recognize this "eventual" mood, in the Chippeway, but makes the termination *-djin*, or *-nidjin*, the characteristic of the participle of the *second* third person ("obviatif" of Cuoq), i. e. the object of a verb whose *subject* is already in the 3d person or objective to the speaker, Bar. Gr. 152. This

regime of second 3d person and *third* 3d person ("sur-obviatif") is one of the most curious features of Algonkin grammar: see Baraga's Grammar, 72–77, 327–8, Et. Phil. 43, 73. In the phrase, "Joseph took the young child and *his* mother (*μητέρα αὐτοῦ*)", the Algonkin distinguishes, by special inflections, the *first*, *second*, and *third* 3d persons, "Joseph," "child," and "mother." In 'John gave Peter his stick to beat his brother's son,' the first noun only is in the third person *direct;* both verbs and the four nouns must receive, respectively, the "obviatif" and "sur-obviatif" inflections. Mr. Howse pointed out, though not very clearly, this distinction, in the Cree language, between the "principal or leading" and the "dependent or accessory" third persons, and gave many examples of its use (Cree Gr., 125, 265–275). Bishop Baraga and, more recently, the author of *Études Philologiques* (l. c.) have shown the important place it fills in the grammatical structure of the Chippeway and Algonkin.* Eliot, in his version of the Bible, employed these accessory forms of noun and verb, but did not mention them in his Indian Grammar.

6. *Kawin* (Chip. *ka*, *kawín*) 'not': see Del. *katschi*, v. 17, note. *Pakitenimichikangen* is from a verb meaning 'to let go,' 'to put away,' 'to abandon.' The form here employed seems to be that of the imperat. future, and the intended meaning: 'do not leave to us': comp. Baraga's vv. 24, 28. *Kekon*, pl. (or perhaps the obviative singular, which is of the same form as the plural) of *keko* (*gégo*, Bar.) 'something.' *Oa-pachiwinigoiangin*, translated "va nous séduire"; *wa* prefixed to a verb signifies that the action is 'about to be' or 'on the point of being' performed (Cuoq, 78): *pachi* is the conditional form of *pitchi*, which marks the action of the verb as amiss, improper, or of unfavorable result (JE. 101; Chip.

* The Eskimo language has a double third person, as Egede (*Grönl. Gram.* 113) pointed out. The principal and subordinate are distinguished by suffixes, *a* and *e;* the latter is employed whenever the object *belongs to* the subject of the verb: *kitornâ turnivâ* 'he gave it to his (another person's) child,' *kitorne turnivâ* 'he gave it to his (own) child': *arka taivâ* 'he called his (another's) name,' *arke taivâ* "he called his (own) name.' See Kleinschmidt's *Grammatik d. grönl. Sprache* (Berlin, 1851), §§ 33, 72 ff., 103.

pitchi-, *pit-*, subj. *petchi-*, *pet-*, "gives the signification of *mistake*, *accident*, *involuntary action*," Bar.): *œinian* 'he defiles, dirties (him), *œiniigon* 'it defiles me, makes me dirty, impure' (Bar.), *œa-pachi-œinigoiangin* 'it may be (or, if it be) about to make me by mischance unclean'; the synthesis is ingenious, but its construction was uncalled for, unless to exhibit the resources of the language.

7. *Taiagœatch* "au contraire" is questionable Algonkin, though we find it in the (later) Montagnais version (22): Howse gives Cree *téakwuch*, "contrary to expectation" (Gr. 242): Baraga's Dictionary has no corresponding particle, and in his version (24), he has only *atchitchaiai* (Alg. *atchitch* "de côté") 'aside, away'; primarily, '*put* aside.' *Ininaman* 'he presents it to, puts it before (him)'; comp. Chip. *ini-nan* 'he puts or presents it,' *inoan* 'he shows it, points it out,' *ini-* (prefixed) 'so, in this manner,' *iniw*, pl. demonstr., 'those there' (Bar.); here, in imperat. 2 sing.~1 pl. 'put it to us.' *Maianatak*, participle conditional (eventual) of *manatat* 'it is bad': 'the evil which *may be*.'

24. CHIPPEWAY (SOUTHERN).*

Otchipwe Anamie-Masinaigan, by Rev. F. Baraga. (Paris, 1837.) Pronounce, *g* always hard; *j* as in Fr. *jour*; *dj* as Engl. *j*; *ch* as Engl. *sh*; *ng* as *ngk*; other consonants as in English: *a* as in *father*, *e* as in *net*, *i* as in *live*, *o* as in *bone*.

Nossinan gijigong ebiian:

1. Apegich kitchitwawendaming kit ijinikasowin.
2. Wabaminagosiian apegich abiiang.
3. Ki-babamitago wedi gijigong; apegich gaie babamitagoian oma aking.
4. Nongom gijigak mijichinam gemidjiiang, misi gego gaie mijichinam.
5. Bonigidetawichinam gego gaiji nichkiigoian, eji bonigidetawangid awia gego gaiji nichkiiiangidjin.
6. Kinaamawichinam wabatadiiangin.
7. Atchitchaiai ininamawichinam gego maianadak waodissikagoiangin. Minotawichinam.

* Father (afterwards Bishop) Baraga was a missionary to the *Ottawas* at L'Arbre Croche and Grand River, on the east shore of Lake Michigan, from 1831 to 1841. In 1841, he began a new mission, to the *Chippeways* at Lapointe (Wisconsin) on Lake Superior, whence, after eight years' residence, he removed in 1849 to another Chippeway village at L'Anse, the head of Keewenaw Bay, Lake Superior. The dialects with which he was most familiar were those of the southern shore of Lake Superior, and the east shore of Lake Michigan.

Translated literally:

Our Father in-heaven who-sittest: [1] I wish-that they (*impers.*, qu'on)-regard-it-very-great thy name. [2] When-thou-art-seen (appearest) I-wish that-we-may-remain (sit, *be*).* [3] Thou-art-obeyed yonder in heaven; I-wish also thou mayest-be-obeyed here on earth. [4] To-day give-thou-to-us that-we-shall-eat, every thing also give-thou-us. [5] Cease-thinking-to-us-of (forgive-us) something which has-so-made-thee angry (offended thee), as we cease-thinking-of-to anyone something(?) which-has-so-made us-angry. [6] Forbid (or, hinder)-us when-we-are-intending-to-do-wrong. [7] Away put-from-us what (something) may-be-evil when-we-are-about-to-come-to-it. Be-pleased-to-hear-us.

25. CHIPPEWAY (NORTHERN).

From Rev. G. A. Belcourt's *Anamihe-Masinahigan* etc., Quebec, 1839.

N'ōssinān kitchi kijikong epiyan:

1. Appedach minātendjikātek ki winsowin.
2. Appedach otissikkāgemagak ki tibendjikewin.
3. Epitch papāmittakōyan kitchi kijikong, appedach gaye ohoma akking.
4. Nòngum kājigak mijichinām nim pakkwejiganiminān, endassokijigakkin gaye.
5. Wanendamawichinām ki matchitōtamang epitch wanendamowangitwa ka matchi-tōtawiyangitwa.
6. Keko ganabenimichikkang wa-matchi-aïndiyangin;
7. Ningotchi ininamawichinām mayānātakkin wetisikkākuyangin. Appedach ing.

The Rev. G. A. Belcourt began an Indian mission on St. Boniface River, in 1833,† among the "Sauteux" or northern Chippeways. In 1839, he published *Principes de la Langue des Sauvages appelés Sauteux*, and, in the same year the little manual of devotion from which this version is taken.

The peculiarities of pronunciation which distinguish the speech of the northern Chippeways from that of the southern bands of the same nation are not so marked as to call for special notice. Baraga, in his "Otchipwe Grammar," mentions only one or two particulars in which "the Indians of Grand Portage and other places north of Lake Superior have conserved the genuine pronunciation" of words and terminations that have been somewhat corrupted in southern dialects.

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* The sense is not clear: "At thy appearance, may we be *here*"? In the Potawatomi version (31), the corresponding word is *piyak* (from *n'pia* 'I come'), 'thou mayest come to us'; but *abiiang* cannot have this meaning.

† Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, 391.

Belcourt's notation agrees nearly with Baraga's, but for *ou* (*ȣ*) he writes *u*, — which, he says, is "always short." The vowels which are not marked as *long* are pronounced short. I have substituted, for his *c*, the *ch* which it represents.

26. CHIPPEWAY (EASTERN).

MISSISAUGA.

Rev. Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) in his *History of the Ojibway Indians*, p. 189.

Noo-se-non ish-pe-ming a-yah-yan:

1. Tuh-ge-che-e-nain-dah-gwud ke-de-zhe-ne-kah-ze-win.
2. Ke-doo-ge-mah-we-win tuh-be-tuh-gwe-she noo-muh-gud.
3. A-nain-duh-mun o-mah uh-keeng tuh-e-zhe-che-gaim, te-be-shkoo go a-zhe-uh-yog e-we-de ish-pe-ming.
4. Meen-zhe-she-nom noong-com kee-zhe-guk ka-o-buh-qua-zhe-gun-e-me yong.
5. Kuh-ya wa-be-nuh-muh-we-she-nom e-newh nim-bah-tah-e-zhe-wa-be-ze-we-ne-nah-nin, a-zhe ko wa-be-nuh-muh-wung-e-dwah e-gewh ma-je-doo-duh-we-yuh-min-ge-jig.
6. Ka-go ween kuh-ya uh-ne-e-zhe-we-zhe-she-kong-ain e-mah zhoo-be-ze-win-ing.
7. Mah-noo suh go ke-de-skee-we-ne-she-nom.
8. Keen mah ween ke-de-bain-don ewh o-ge-mah-we-win, kuh-ya ewh kuh-shke-a-we-ze-win, kuh-ya ewh pe-she-gain-dah-go-ze-win, kah-ge-nig kuh-ya kah-ge-nig.

Amen.

27. CHIPPEWAY.

From the New Testament, translated into the language of the Ojibwa Indians. (Am. Bible Society) 1856. Pronounce, *a* as in *father*, *e* as *a* in *fate*, *i* as in *machine*, *o* as in *note*, *ŭ* as in *but*; *ȣ*, before a consonant or final, as *oo* in *pool* or *u* in *full*, elsewhere as Engl. *w**; the consonants nearly as in English; *g* always hard; *ng* as *ngk*.

Nosinan ishpiming eaiŭn:

1. Mano tŭkijitȣaȣenjigade iȣ kidizhinikazoȣin.
2. Kitogimaȣiȣin tŭpitŭgȣishinomŭgŭt.
3. Enendŭmŭn tŭizhiȣebut oma aking, tibishko iȣidi ishpiming.
4. Mizhishinam sŭ nongȣom gizhigŭk iȣ gemijiiang.
5. Gaie ȣebinamaȣishinam iniȣ nimbataizhiȣebiziȣininanin, ezhiȣebinamaȣŭngidȣa igiȣ mejitotaȣiiŭngidjig.

* In the text from which I copy, *u* represents *oo* (in *pool*) and *w*, and the character *ŭ* is used for the neutral vowel, or — according to the Key — for Engl. *ŭ* in *but*.

6. Gaie kego ŭniizhicœizhishikangen ima gŭgœetibenintiœoining.
7. Mitagœenishinam dŭsh œin onji ima mŭjiaiiiœishing.
8. Kin ma kitibendan iœ ogimaœiœin, gaie iœ gŭshkieœiziœin, gaie bishigendagœziœin, kakinik apine go kakinik. Amen.

This version differs somewhat, particularly in the sixth and seventh petitions, from that which was printed in earlier editions of the Ojibwa Testament. In the Bible Society's impression of 1844, these petitions are as follows:

6. Kego gŭgœedibenimishikangen ningœji jishobizhiiang;
7. Gaie mitagœenimaœishinam mŭjiaiiœishŭn.

In Luke xi. 4, the edition of 1856 follows that of 1844, except the insertion of a particle:

6. Kego œin gaie ŭniizhicœizhishikangen ningœji jishobiziiang;
7. *Gaie* mitagœenimaœishinam mŭjiaiiiœishŭn.

In the following notes I shall have occasion to refer to some of the earlier versions, especially to Baraga's of 1837 (v. 24) and to Peter Jones's, with his final revision (v. 26). John and Peter Jones were half-breeds, their mother being a Missisauga woman. Their version of the Gospel of St. John in the Chippeway tongue was printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1831. Peter married an English woman, spoke and wrote the English language as well as the Chippeway, and was for many years the minister of a band of Chippeways on Credit River, seventeen miles west of Toronto, Canada. He was born near Burlington Bay, the western extremity of Lake Erie. Howse, whose Cree Grammar includes "an analysis of the Chippeway dialect," constantly cites, for Chippeway forms, Mr. Jones's translation of St. John, regarding it as his "foundation — a rock that cannot be shaken."*

Ñosinan (*noo-se-non*, J., *n'ōssinān*, Belc.) = Mass. *nœshun*, 'our father'; an earlier Chippeway version, by Peter Jones,

* It was adopted, after revision, by the Am. Bible Society, in the first issue of the *Ojibwa Testament*, its orthography having been conformed to Mr. Pickering's system (with some modification). The other gospels and the Acts of the apostles were translated for this Testament by George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, a

has *waosemegoyun* = *weóssimigoiàn* of Baraga, 'thou who art had for (regarded as) a father,' particip. subj. 2d sing. of *nind'oóssimigo* 'I am had for a father'; 3d pers., *weossimind* (Bar.), *wayóosemungid* (J.) 'who is father,' 'the Father,' "who is fathered" (Howse, 22). *Ispeming*, Cree *espimík*, Abn. *spemkik*, Moh. *spummuck* (v. 13), 'on high.' *Eaiŭn* (*ayáhyan*, J.) 'thou who art there' (see Abn. *aiian*, *eïan*, vv. 7, 9; Moh. *oieon*, v. 13); in v. 24, *ebiian* 'thou who remainest.'

1. *Tŭ-kijitœa-œenjigade* 'be it regarded holy (greatest),' imperat. 3 sing. of impers. verb *kijitœaœenjigade*, from *kijitœa* (*kitchitwa*, Bar.) 'of chief regard, greatest, honorable, holy': see Alg. v. 23; *tŭ* (*ta*, *da*, Bar.) is the sign of the future and the imperative. *Máno* means "well, that's right, no matter, let it be so" (Bar.); it is nearer to the Fr. *très bien* than to the Lat. *utinam* for which it is improperly used here: Baraga, v. 24, has *apegich kitchitwawendaming* 'I wish it may be regarded very great (honorable, holy),' *apegich* (*-ish*) "corresponding exactly to Lat. *utinam*" (Bar.), and the verb is from the intrans. inan. and impers. form, *kitchitwawendam*, in the subj. participle. Jones, v. 26, prefers *tuhgecheë'naindahgwud* (*ta kitchi-inendagwad*, Bar.) 'let it be regarded greatest,' fut. imperat. of *kitchi-inendagwad* 'it is greatest-regarded.'

2. 'Thy rulership let it come hither' [v. 25, 'Thy rulership let it arrive amongst us']: *tŭpitŭgœishinomŭgŭt* (*ta pidagwishinomagad*, Bar.) 'let-it hither-arrive'; *pi* denotes 'coming to' the speaker; *dagwishinomagad*, impers. form of *dagwishin* 'he arrives *by land*' (from primary *dago* 'among others,' i. e. 'he is with us,' 'in our midst').

3. 'What-thou-thinkest let-it-be-so here on-earth, just-so-as (*lit.* equally) yonder on-high.' *Inendam* 'he is so-minded,' 'he thinks, purposes, wills'; condit. (ptcp.) *enéndaman* 'as thou art minded,' 'as thou wilt' (Bar. Gr. 137). *Ta ijiwébad* (Bar.) 'let it be so': in v. 26, *ta ijitchigaim* 'let it be so done,' lit. 'let them (impers.) so do it.'

Missisauga Chippeway of Rice Lake village, Ontario,) and the Rev. Sherman Hall, missionary at Lapointe, Lake Superior. The whole work has been repeatedly revised, and the alterations and corrections were so numerous and important in the edition of 1856 as to entitle it to be regarded as a new version.

4. 'Give-us indeed this day (now in-the-day) that we-shall-eat.' *Sŭ* (*sa*, Bar., *suh*, J.), a particle of frequent occurrence in the Chippeway, does not admit of translation. It serves to strengthen or emphasize the verb, e. g. *nin sagiạ sa* 'I love him *indeed*,' *neen sah mekun* 'I am the way,' *neen sah ween* 'It is I, truly' (John xiv. 6, vi. 20). *Iœ* (*iw*) is the remote demonstrative inanimate, 'that yonder,' but the propriety of its use before a future participle is questionable. Baraga (v. 24) has, "To day give-us that-we-shall-eat, every thing also give-us': Jones (v. 26), 'Give-us to-day that-will-be-to-us-bread,' in which *ka-obuhquazhegun-emeyong* is made to serve as the future conditional participle of a verb formed on *buhquazhegun* (*pakwéjigan*, Bar.) 'a loaf of bread'—properly, 'of bread to be sliced' (see v. 23, note).

5. 'Also cast-away-as-regards-us (forgive us) those our-wrong-doings as-we-cast-it-away-to-them those who-may-do-evil-to-us.' *Wébin*, in compos. means 'to cast away,' 'to reject'; *wébinan* 'he rejects, abandons (him),' *wébinamawan* 'he throws away something belonging or relating to' another (Bar.), hence, 'he pardons the offence of' another. *Iniœ*, remote demonstrative, inanimate, plural. *Báta* "prefixed to verbs gives them a signification which implies the idea of *sin*, *wrong*, *damage*" (Bar.): *bata-ijiwebisi* 'he badly conducts himself,' 'does wrong,' whence verbal, *bata-ijiwebisiwin* 'wrong doing, wickedness' &c.,—here, with the prefix and suffixes of 1 pers. double plural. *Igiœ*, pl. demonstrative of remote *animate* objects, 'those persons.' *Mŭji-totaœan* (*matchi-dodawan*, Bar.) 'he does evil to him'; conditional, *meji-dotaœijin* "if he sin against me," Matt. 18. 21: ptcp. pl. *mejitotaœiiŭngidjig* (*-wiiangidjig*, Bar.) 'they who . . . to us.' Jones (v. 26) has the form *-weyuhmingejig*. For the verbs, Baraga (v. 24) has *bonigidetawan* 'he forgives him,' lit. 'he puts an end to thinking of it against him,' *boni* in compos. signifying 'stopping, ceasing, ending,'—and *nishkian* 'he offends him, makes him angry'; see Alg. version (23).

6. 'And do-not hereafter-conduct-us there into-temptation'; [in edition of 1844, "Do-not try-us anywhere we-may-be-subject-to-temptation," and so, nearly, in Luke xi. 4, ed.

1856:] *Ŭniizhiœizhishikangen*, with *kego* ('do not') prefixed, is the *negative* form of the imperative 2d sing.~1st pl. of *izhiœinan* 'he conducts him' (*ijiwinan*, Bar.); *ŭni* (*ani*, Bar.) denotes action in the *future*, a "going on, approaching to" (Bar.). *Gugœetibeniman* (*gagwédibeniman*, B.) 'he tempts, makes trial of him': comp. Mass. (v. 10), Moh. (v. 17), Ottawa (v. 28). The formative of the verbal in *-tiœining* seems to be incorrect; see note on Baraga's Ottawa version (28).

7. *Mitagœenishinam* 'put away from us'; *mitagœenán* (*midagwenán*, B.) "he puts it aside or out of the way, *with his hands*," *mitágœeta* "he puts himself aside" (Bar.); from *mi* 'away from,' and a verbal root *dagó*, the primary meaning of which seems to be, 'to place,' or 'to put in its place'; the *n* in *dagœen* is the characteristic of verbs expressing action performed by the *hand*, a form which is inappropriate to this petition.* The particles *œïn* does not admit of translation. It is a pronoun of the 3d person indefinite, and appears often to be used (like Fr. *en*) redundantly. In Jones's translation of John it occurs most frequently after *dush* and *sa* (*dush ween*, ch. viii., v. 40; *sah ween*, viii. 39, xii. 42, 47, &c.), or as enclitic, with the negative *ka* (*kahween; kawin*, B.): comp. in v. 26, *ka-go ween kuhya* (6th pet.) and *keen mah ween* 'thine indeed is it' (8th pet.); and *ka ma win* "no, no" (Bar.). The author of *Études Philologiques* includes *œin* and *sa* (p. 86) with "expletives and enclitics which have no equivalents in French." *Onji* (*ondji*, Bar.) 'because of, for the sake of, from,' *follows* in Chippeway the word it governs; *œin onji* means, literally, 'on account of him' (or, it), 'for his or its sake,' but cannot have the meaning, 'on account of *which*,' or, 'from *that which*,' for *œin* certainly is not a relative pronoun. *Mŭyiaiiiœish* (with locat. affix *-ing*) = *matchi-aiiwish* (Bar.) 'bad thing,' *aiiwish* being the derogative of *aii*

* The *unlikeness* of Chippeway as written by John and Peter Jones to that of the Bible Society's versions, may be seen in forms of this verb in John xvii. 15; where Jones has *weengoo chemedahgwanahmahwahdah*, for *uin go jimitaguenmauvtua*, of the Bible Society's Testament of 1844 (changed to *uin jimitaguenvtua*, in the revised edition), for "thou shouldst keep them from (it)." In Baraga's notation, we should have: *win go tchi mitagwenimawadwa*.

'thing';* and for the *animate* form, *matchi-aiaá-wish* 'bad person-bad,' wicked person, the devil (Bar.). *Ima*, in this and the preceding petition, is used as a preposition: *ima Galile kijigŭming* "unto the sea of Galilee," Mark vii. 31; *ima nabikœaning* "into the ship," Mk. vi. 53; elsewhere, as an adverb of place: *ima Kana-ing . . . ima gigaiawŭn* "in Cana . . . was *there*" (*emah Kana . . . . emah keahyahwun*, Jones): Baraga — more accurately, as it seems to me, — makes it always an adverb, "there, thence," i. e. 'in or from *that* place.' I have not met with it in the Nipissing-Algonkin, or in any other of this group of dialects.

8. "Thou indeed hast (to thee belongs) this mastery, also this prevalence (authority), also splendor, always without-ceasing always." *Ma* is another of the particles which have no English equivalent; Baraga (Gr. 497) calls it an "accessory, of reinforcement," as: *win ma gi-ikito* "he has said it himself," *ka ma win* "no, no." *Kitibendan* (*ki dibendan*, B.) 'thou ownest, possessest, art master of (it)': comp. Abn. *neteberdam* 'I govern,' *œtaberdamœa"gan* 'his government' (Râle), and see Cree v. 20b, pet. 2, and note: Baraga has intrans. *nind dibéndjige* 'I am master, lord,' whence ptcp. conditional, *Debéndjiged* 'he who is Lord.' *Bishigendagœziwin*, a verbal from *bishigéndagosi* "he is beautiful, glorious, splendid" (Bar.), — primarily, "he surpasses"; from *apitchi* (Bar.) "very much, exceedingly, perfectly" &c. (Abn. *pi"ta*, Del. *pechotschi* "much more," Zeisb., Cree *náspich*), whence *bishigendan* ('he thinks it great, perfect,' &c.) "he honors it, glorifies it" (Bar.) and anim. pass. *bishigendagosi* 'he is honored, glorified, accounted surpassing' &c.

Instead of *Amen*, Baraga, v. 24 (and in his *Otchipwe Anamie-Misinaigœn*) has *Minotawichinam* 'be pleaséd to hear us,' or 'favorably hear us.'

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* *Aii* (*a-i-i*) thing; diminutive, *aiins* 'little thing'; derogative or contemptuous, *aiiwish* 'bad, mean, or worthless thing.'

28. OTTAWA.

EAST SHORE OF LAKE MICHIGAN.

Baraga's *Katolik Anamie-Misinaigan* (Detroit, 1846).*

Nossina wakwing ebiian:

1. Apegich kitchitwawendaming kid anosowin.
2. Apegich bidagwichinomagak kid agimawiwin.
3. Enendaman apegich ijiwebak, tibichko wakwing, mi go gaie aking.
4. Nongom nongo agijigak nin pakwejiganimina wa-iji-aioiang memechigo gijig.
5. Bonigidetawichinang gaie ga-iji-nichkiinangi eji bonigidetawangidwa ga-iji-nichkiiamindjig.
6. Kego gaie ijiwijichikange gagwedibeningewining.
7. Atchitchaii dach ininamawichinang maianadak.

Apeingi.

The differences of dialect between the Ottawas and southern Chippeways are slight. Baraga's *Otchipwe Dictionary* marks a considerable number of words as, exclusively, "Ottawa," but many of these may probably be referred to the local idioms of L'Arbre Croche and Grand River (Mich.), and others were unquestionably framed by — or received a new meaning from — foreign teachers. Some were transferred from the Algonkin mission-dialect of Canada. Several particles, which have been made to serve as prepositions and conjunctions, and a few adverbs of time and place — the least constant elements of Indian speech — seem to be peculiar to the Ottawa; e. g. *aji* for Chip. *jaigwa* 'already'; *jaie, jajaie*, for Chip. *mewija* 'long ago'; *jaiáω* for Chip. *gwaiák* 'straight, right, exactly': *ajiwi* for Chip. *iwidi* 'there, yonder,' and *ajonda* (Pottaw. *shotĭ*) for Chip. *oma* 'here,' &c. In his *Otchipwe Grammar* (p. 44), Baraga observes that "the euphonical *d*," which is in Chippeway interposed between the prefixed pronoun (1st and 2d pers.) and the noun or verb, is more frequently omitted in the Ottawa.

According to Dr. Schoolcraft, "the interchange of Chippeway *d* and *p* for *t*, of *b* for *p*, and the substitution of broad *ô* for *u*, in the Ottawa dialect, is a characteristic trait."† If I

* From a re-print, in Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, 359.

† *History of the Indian Tribes* (*Collections* &c., vol. vi), p. 464, note.

understand (as I am not sure that I do) what this trait is, I have not found it — particularly, as to the exchange of Chip. *p* with Ott. *t*, — in any specimens of the language which are within my reach.

The words occurring in this version which are marked in Baraga's Dictionary as peculiarly "Ottawa," are the following:

Wakwí "paradise, heaven"; with the locative inflection, *wakwing* (Bar.); whatever may be the etymology of this name, its special appropriation to 'heaven' must have been given it by the missionaries, who employed it, in the same sense, in the Canadian Algonkin dialect (see v. 23). *Nossina* is a *vocative* of Chip. and Ott. *nossinan* 'our father.'

Kid'anosowin 'thy name'; *anósowin*, which Baraga gives as the equivalent of Chip. *ijinikasowin* 'name,' is from *ano* = Chip. *ino* 'it is so'; *anósowin* is 'being so-designated,' *ijinikasowin* 'being so-called': the change of Chip. *ĭ* to Ottawa *ă* is not uncommon; comp. Chip. *ikwe*, Ott. *akwé* 'woman'; Chip. *ishkoté*, Ott. *ashkoté* 'fire'; Chip. *ishkwátch*, Ott. *ashkwátch* 'at last, finally,' &c.

2. *Bi-dagwishinomagak* is the subj. of the unipersonal *dagwishinomagad* 'it arrives, comes,' with the prefix, *-bi*, denoting 'coming *to*' the speaker; compare vv. 26, 27, in which the same verb is in the 3d pers. sing. imperative. [Throughout this version, *ch* is used for *sh* of Baraga's later works in the Chippeway dialect; e. g. *dach* for *dash*, *tibichko* for *tibishkó*, &c.]

3. 'What-thou-purposest I-wish it-may-so-be-done, equally (just so) in-heaven, just-so also on-earth.' The words are all pure Chippeway. *Ijiwebak*, subj. 3d pers. for *tŭ-izhiœbut* of v. 27, imperative. *Mi* 'so'; *go* is a particle of re-inforcement or emphasis.

4. I do not understand the repetition of *nongom* 'now,' in in *nongo-agijigak* (Alg. *nongom-ongajigak*, Chip. *nongom gijigak*) 'to-day,' nor how the final *gijig* 'day' is to be construed: perhaps *nongo agijigak* stands for Alg.-Nipis. *neningokijik* (v. 23) 'once a day'; but I suspect an error of the press, — perhaps in the re-print.

5. The termination of the imperat. 2d pers. sing.~1st pl., here is in *-ishinang* instead of the Chip. *-ishinam* (v. 24): comp. Potawat. *-ishnak*, *-ichinag* (vv. 30, 31). In the subjunctive ('as we forgive') *-angidwa* is the transition form of 1 pl.~2d pl. 'we . . . them'; *-angid* (in v. 24) of 1 pl.~3d sing. 'we . . . him.'

6. 'Do-not, moreover, conduct-us into-temptation.' The verb has the negative form of the imperat. 2 sing.~1 pl., in *-jichikange*, instead of Chip. *-jishikangen* as in v. 27 (*-zheshekongain*, v. 26). The verbal ('into temptation') has *-gewining* for *-tiœin-ing* (v. 27), *-diwining* (Bar.); but Baraga's Dictionary gives *gagwedibeningewin* 'temptation,' for the Chippeway form, and, with the formative *-indiwin*, as meaning "temptation of *several persons*."

7. "Away but put-from-us the-thing-which-is (or, something) evil": comp. v. 24. Here again the verb has the dialectic *-inang* for Chip. *-inam;* see, above, petition 5. The disjunctive *dach* (*dash*, *dŭsh*) correctly *follows* the adverb, and in the two preceding petitions the copulative *gaie* follows the leading verb and the prohibitive. Under the instruction of the missionaries, Indians soon learn to change the place of these particles and to give them the position and meanings of English or French conjunctions: comp. v. 27.

Apéingi "be it so, I wish it would be so," Baraga marks as an Ottawa word; comp. Chip. *apégish* 'I wish it,' Lat. *utinam* (Bar.), Nipis. *kekona ki ingi* (v. 23).

29. OTTAWA.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

From J. Meeker's version of Matthew's Gospel.*

Nosina ushpĭmĭng eiaiun:
1. Kechĭupitentakwuk ketĭshĭnikasowĭn.
2. Kitokimeowĭn tukwĭshĭnomukut.
3. Mano kitinentumowĭn mantupi ukĭng mi keĭshiwepuk tĭpĭshko kitinentumoœĭn ushpĭmĭng eshipuk.

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* "The New Testament translated into the Ottawa Language, by Jotham Meeker . . . revised, and compared with the Greek by Rev. Francis Barker." Shawanoe Bapt. Mission Press, 1841. Only Matthew's and John's gospels were printed (1841, 1844).

In this version, as in all other publications of the Baptist Shawanoe Mission,

4. Mishĭshĭnang nongo kishĭkat entuso kishĭkuk eshiwisĭniang.
5. Minuwishawenĭmishĭnang ka-muchĭtotumangĭn, eshi minuwishawenĭmungĭtwa me'chĭtotuwiumĭngĭshĭk.
6. Kuie keko ishiwĭshĭshkange kukwechiĭtewĭnĭng.
7. Akonishĭnang chĭwipwa muchĭĭshĭchikeang.
8. Kin ma kitĭpentan okimaowin, kuie iwĭ kushkiewĭsiwĭn, kuie iwĭ pĭshĭkentakosiwĭn. Kakĭnĭk.
Emen.

3. *Máno* for 'utinam,' 'would that,' as in v. 27, but with doubtful propriety. *Mantupi* 'in this'; *mantu* (Chip. *mandan*, Bar.) is a general demonstrative, often superfluous in English, 'this, thus, so,' &c. *Mi* 'so,' emphasizes the *ishi* (Chip. *iji*) of *ishiwipuk*, which has here the prefixed *ke* of the imperative future, 'let it be so': *eshiwepuk*, in the last clause, for 'it *is* so,' should be *eshiwepat* (Chip. *iji-webad*) of the indicative present. In the next petition the opposite error occurs, *nongo kishĭkat* (indicat.) 'now it *is* day' or 'to-day is,' for *nongo kishĭkuk* (condit.; comp. vv. 27, 28) '*while it is* to-day,' or 'in the now day.'

4. *Entuso* (Chip. *endasso*, Pot. *etso*, Abn. *é'tasse*) *kishĭkuk* 'of every day,' 'daily.' *Eshiwisĭnĭang*, from *wisĭni* 'he eats,' (Chip. *wissini*, Bar.), with a prefix (Chip. *iji?*) the force of which is not quite clear; the apparent meaning is, 'what we *so* eat,'—perhaps, 'our usual food': comp. *wisĭnĭt* 'when he was eating,' Matt. xxvi. 7, *wisĭnĭn* 'eat thou,' John iv. 31: Chip. *wissiniwin* "eating, food" (Bar.). In other places Meeker has *pukweshĭkun* (*pakwejigan*, Bar.) for 'bread' and 'loaf,' as in Matt. xv. 34, xvi. 5, and *mishĭshĭnang mantu pukweshĭkun* 'give us this bread,' Jno. vi. 34.

6. Compare Chippeway v. 27 and Ottawa v. 28.

7. 'Save-us (or, restrain-us?) before-that-we-do-evil.' The meaning of *akonishĭnang* is not clear; Meeker has *kaskonĭshĭn*

Meeker's system of phonetic notation (see note after version 30) was adopted; *rmrn* stands for 'amen,' *nofo* for *nongo* in the fourth petition, and *kuer, ukif,* represent the sounds of the Bible Society's and Baraga's *gaie aking*. I have transliterated the prayer to the orthography of the Am. Bible Society's versions (see v. 27), retaining Meeker's *w* for *u* ("*oo* in *pool*, or *u* in *full*") and Meeker's *u* ("as in *tub*") for the Bible Society's *ŭ*, (which is really the neutral vowel—Baraga's *ă*) and distinguishing his "*i* as in *pin*" as *ĭ*.

save me' (Matt. xiv. 30) *kaskonĭshĭnang* 'save us' (viii. 25); but comp. *mi-tagœenishinam*, v. 27. *Chiwĭpwa* = Chip. *tchibwa* 'before.' *Muchĭ-ĭshĭchiket* 'he does evil,' *nint'ĭshĭchike* 'I do (it),' Chip. *nind ijitchige* (Bar.); but this verb means literally, 'I *so* (*iji*, *ishi*) do,' and cannot properly receive another adverbial prefix, like *muchĭ* (badly).

8. Comp. vv. 27, 30, and see notes on the former of these.

30. POTAWATOMI.

ST. JOSEPH'S RIVER.

From Lykins's version of Matthew's Gospel (1844).*

Nos'nan eïn shpumuk kishkok:

1. Ketchnentaqut k'tishnukascoun.
2. Ktokumau'œun kupiémkit.
3. Notchma ktenentumœun knomkit shotĭ kik, ketchœa shpumuk kishkok.
4. Mishĭnak otĭ n'kom ekish'kiœuk etso kishkuk, eshœisĭniak.
5. Ipi ponentumœĭshnak mĭsnukĭnanĭn ninanke eshponenmukĭt meshitot'moiĭmit, mesnumoiumkeshiĭk.
6. Ipi keko shonĭshikak ketshĭ qu'tchĭtipenmukoiak.
7. Otapĭnĭsh'nak tchaiek meanuk.
8. Kin ktupentan okumauœun, ipi k'shke-eœsuœun, ipi iœ k'tchĭnentaq'suœĭn, kakuk. Emen.

"There are three tribes of us joined" — said the Indians on Lake Michigan, in reply to the questions of Dr. Morse, in 1820, — "viz., the Pottawattamies, Chippewas, and Ottawas. Since the white people were introduced among us, we are known by these names. Our traditions go no further back": and, as the Potawatomies admitted, "the Chippewas and Ottawas speak our language more correctly than any other tribes within our knowledge."† In 1667, Father Claude Allouez, visiting the "Pouteouatami," describes them as a

* Printed at Louisville, Ky., for the (Baptist) American Indian Mission Association. In this version, Mr. Lykins adopted Meeker's system of notation, printing *r* for Engl. *ā*, *l* for *ch*, *h* for *sh*, &c. I have transliterated this, as accurately as possible, to the orthography of the Bible Society's *Ojibwa Testament*, modified as in version 27. Pronounce *u* as in *tub*, — corresponding, generally, to Baraga's *a* short, in Chippeway and Ottawa.

† Morse's *Report on the Indian Tribes*, 1822, App. 141.

warlike people, hunters and fishermen, "speaking Algonkin, but *much less easily understood* than were the Ottawas," by the missionaries from Canada.*

Of peculiarities of dialect observable in this and the next following versions, the most prominent is the shortening of words by omission of vowels — suggesting a manner of speech very unlike "the deliberate Cree, and the sonorous, majestic Chippeway."† Baraga's Chip. *wa-o-dis-si-ka-go-i-an-gin* (v. 24, pet. 7) is clipped to Pot. *wa-otch-ka-ko-ya-kin* (v. 31); Chip. *nongom* loses its initial *n* and a vowel, in Pot. *ngom; kit-ijinikasowin* ('thy name') becomes *ktishnukaswun.*

The locative termination is *k* or *g*, without a nasal: *kishkok* for Chip. *gijigong; kik* for Chip. *aking* (pronounced, *akingk*); *shpumuk* for *ishpeming*, &c.

The transition imperative 2d sing.~1st pl. is in *-nak*, for Chip. *-inam;* see pet. 4, *mishinak.*

Of particles: *ipi* for 'and' (in petitions 5, 6, 8) is perhaps related to Chip. *mi-pi* 'likewise' and to Ott. *apé* in in *apéingi* 'be it so' (v. 28); Lykins occasionally uses *itchi* as a connective (e. g. Matt. iv. 17–25) = Chip. *achi* (Bar.), Cree *assitche* 'also'; *notchma* 'let it be so'(?) is perhaps peculiar to this dialect; *shotĭ* 'here, in this place,' is Ott. *ajonda*, Cree *otè; ketchœa* 'just so' ("even as," Matt. v. 48): *etso* 'every'; *tchaiek* 'all, wholly,' &c.

Ĕin = Chip. *eaiŭn*, vers. 27: 3d pers. *eiĭt* 'he who is,' Matt. vi. 1. *Shpumuk kish'kok* 'on high in the sky' (Chip. *ishpeming gijigong*, Bar.); *kishuk* 'sky,' Matt. xvi. 3.

K't-ish'nukasœun 'thy name,' Chip. *kit-ijinikasowin*, Bar.

2. Comp. vv. 26, 27. *Ku-piemkit*, for 'let it come'; *kŭ* = Chip. *ga*, sign of the future — but, with the imperative, the Chippeway has *ta* (*tŭ*, v. 27) instead of *ga; piémkit* (*piamkit*, Acts xvii. 26) from a form corresponding to Chip. unipersonal verbs in *-magad* (*-mŭgŭt*, v. 27), from primary *n'pia* 'I come' (*pian* 'come thou,' *n'ku-pia* 'I will come,' Matt. viii. 9, 7).

3. *Notchma* 'let it be so,' or 'I wish it may be so.' *Ktenentumau'œun*, Chip. *kid-inendamowin* (verbal) 'thy will': the verb in the conditional would be better, as in Matt. xxvi.

* *Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1667 (Quebec ed.), p. 18.

† Howse, *Cree Grammar*, 13.

39, *nin enentumán*, *kin enentumin* "as I will, as thou wilt." *Knomkit* 'be done' (*ikenomkit* 'so be it done,' Matt. viii. 13). *Shotĭ kik* 'on this earth' (*chote kig*, De Smets, v. 31); *shotĭ tchaiek kik* "on all the face of the earth," Acts xvii. 26; *shotĭ achiĭuœat* "in this place," Acts vii. 7. *Ketchœa* 'just so,' "even as," Matt. v. 48.

4. *Mishĭnak* = Chip. *mijishinam* (Bar.) 'give us'; here, as in the three following petitions, the transition of 2 sing.~1 pl. 'thou . . . to us,' is in *-nak*, for Chip. *-nam*. *Oti*, a particle of very frequent occurrence, seems to be the equivalent of Chip. *œin* (see v. 27, pet. 7), and is untranslatable: Lykins uses it, sometimes as a demonstrative, 'this' (Matt. iii. 17; *oti tchaiek* 'all this,' i. 22), but more often it is redundant.

N'kom ekishkiœuk 'to-day,' 'now in this day'; cf. Matt. vi. 30; = Ott. *nongo agijigak* (Bar.) v. 28. *Etso kishkuk* 'every day,' 'daily': *etso numekishkuk* "every Sabbath," Acts xviii. 4: comp. Mass. *ase-kêsukok-ish*, v. 10. *Esh-œisĭniak* 'something to eat'? formed, apparently, from *wes'na* 'he eats' (feeds); see *tchaiek eki-œis'naœat* 'all did eat,' *kitchĭ ka-œis'-netchuk* "they that had eaten," Matt. xiv. 20, 21, *eœis'nit* 'when he eats,' xv. 20: comp. Ottawa v. 29.

6. *Ponentumœĭshnak* for Chip. *bonigidetawishinam*, Bar. v. 24, or rather, for Chip. *bónendamawishinam* from another form of the verb (*bónéndamawa*, Bar.). *Mĭs'nukĭnanĭn* 'debts,' literally, 'things written down' (Chip. *masinaige* 'he makes marks on something, he *writes*,' whence, *masinaigan* writing, a book, letter, *debt*, or score; Pot. *m'sinukin*, Acts. i. 1).

7. *Keko* (Chip. *kego*, v. 27) 'do not,' prohib. particle. *Shonĭshikak* = Chip. *izhiœizhishikangen* (v. 27), Ott. *ijiwijichikange*, v. 28. *Qu'tchĭpen'mukoiak* 'that we may be tempted,' from the equivalent of Chip. *nin gatchibia* 'I tempt him' (and *nin godjipwa* 'I try him') Bar.; comp. v. 27.

8. *Otapĭnĭsh'nak* 'remove from us.' *Tchaiek* 'all,' 'every'; or as an adverb, 'wholly, entirely.' *Meänuk* 'evil,' Chip. and Ott. *maianadak* (Bar.).

9. Comp. Chippeway version 27. *Kakuk* = Chip. *kakinik* 'forever.'

31. POTAWATOMI.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, MO.

From Rev. P. J. De Smet's *Oregon Missions.*

Nosinan wakwik ebiyin:

1. Ape kitchitwa kitchitwa wenitamag kitinosowin.
2. Enakosiyin ape piyak.
3. Kitewetako tipu wakwig, ape tepwetakon chote kig.
4. Ngom ekijikiwog michinag mamitchiyak.
5. Ponigetedwichinag kego kachi kichiinakineyi, ponigeledwoiket woye kego kachi kichiimidgin.
6. Kinamochinag wapatadiyak.
7. Chitchiikwan nenimochinag meyanek waotichkakoyakin. Ape iw nomikug.

The Potawatomis, after the surrender of their lands in Indiana and Illinois, were removed, between 1836 and 1841, to a reservation near Council Bluffs, Mo., where they were visited by Father De Smet. From the absence of the interlinear translation which he has supplied to other versions printed in his *Oregon Missions*, and from the defective punctuation of this, I infer that he did not himself understand the Potawatomi language, but copied this prayer — perhaps not with perfect accuracy — from the manuscript of a resident missionary. It preserves some of the dialectic peculiarities of the preceding (Lykins's) version, but seems to have been partly borrowed from the Ottawa and Chippeway of Baraga.

Wakwik, Ott. and Alg. (*not* Chip.) *wakwing*. *Ape*, in 1st, 2d, and 3d petitions, for Chip. *apégish*, *apédash*, 'I wish' (Lat. *utinam*). *Kitchitwa-wenitamag* for Ott. *kitchitwa-wendaming*, v. 28. *Kit-inosowin*, Ott. *kid-anosowin* 'thy name.'

Enakosiyin 'when thou appearest' (or ptcp. 'thou appearing'), for Chip. *nágosiian*, from *nágosi* 'he appears, is visible' (Bar.). *Ape piyak* 'I wish thou mayest come to us,' — from *n'pia* 'I come to'; comp. Baraga's Chip. v. 24.

4. 'To-day give us our food': *mamitchiyak*, Ott. *memechigo* (Bar. v. 28); comp. *ge-midjiiang*, v. 24.

5. *Kego kachi* for Chip. *gego ga-iji*, v. 24. *Ponigeledwoiket*, by error of the press (or the copyist) for *bonigetedwoiket*. *Woye* for Chip. *awia*, v. 24, and Alg. v. 23.

6. *Kinamochinag*, Chip. *kinaamawichinam*, v. 24; *wapatadiyak*, Chip. *wabatadiiangin.*

7. *Chitchiikwan*, Ott. and Chip. *atchitchaii*, vv. 24, 28, 'aside, away' (Bar.). *Meyanek* (*mĕänuk*, Lykins), Chip. and Ott. *maianadak* 'evil.'

32. MENOMONI.

WOLF RIVER, WISCONSIN.

Rev. Fl. J. Bonduel, in Shea's *Hist. of Cath. Missions*, p. 363.

Nhonninaw kishiko epian.

1. Nhanshtchiaw kaietchwitchikatek ki wishwan.
2. Nhanshtchiaw katpimakat kit okimanwin.*
3. Enenitaman nhanshtchiaw kateshekin, tipanes kishiko hakihi θe min.
4. Mishiamé ioppi kishiχa nin pakishiχaniminaw eniko eweia θanenon kaieshiχa.
5. Ponikitetawiame min ka eshishnekihikeian, esh ponikitetawakiθwa ka ishishnekihiameθwa.
6. Pon inishiashiame ka kishtipeniθwane.
7. Miakonamanwiame θe meti.

Nhansheníkateshekin.

When the "Maloumines" or "Folles Avoines" were first known to the French, they seem to have been living on the north-eastern shore of Lake Superior, between the Noquets on the east and the Ouinipigous (Winnebagoes) to the west. Before 1658, however, all these tribes had settled in the neighborhood of Green Bay,—the Folles Avoines on the banks of the river which still retains the name of Menomonee†. *Manoumini*, in other dialects *Maloumin* and *Maroumini*, is the Algonkin name of the 'wild rice' ('folle avoine' of the French), the principal food of this tribe.

The materials for study of their language are very scanty. Mr. Gallatin printed a vocabulary compiled by Mr. Doty; another, by Mr. Brace of Green Bay, was published in the second volume of Schoolcraft's Collections (pp. 470–481). Edwin James, in Tanner's Narrative, gave some Menomoni words and phrases. The language (as Mr. Gallatin observed)

* Read: *kit okimauwin.*

† *Relations de la Nouv. France*, 1640 (p. 35), 1658 (p. 21), 1671 (p. 42).

"is less similar to that of the Chippeways, their immediate neighbours, than is almost any other dialect of the same stock," east of the Mississippi. In the frequency of aspirates and the elimination of nasals (e. g. *kishiko*, for Chip. *gijikong; hakihi* for Chip. *aking*), the Menomonees may have been influenced by their continued intercourse with the Winnebagoes.

The Rev. F. J. Bonduel was a missionary to the Menomonies at Lake Powahégan, near Wolf River, Wisc., from 1847, till their removal in 1852 to another reservation, at Shawano Lake, between Wolf and Oconto Rivers*. The Menomonies all, or nearly all, speak the Chippeway language, and I infer that the instructions of the missionaries were given in that tongue.†

Nhonninaw 'our father'; *nonhnainh* 'my father' (Br.), *hohahnun* 'father' (Gal.) *Kishiko* (*kayshaykoh*, Br.) 'in the sky': comp. *kayshoh* 'sun,' *kayshaykots* 'day' (Br.), *kayzhik* 'day' (James).

Nhanshtchiaw 'I wish that' = Pota. *notchma*, version 30. *Kaietchwitchikatek* = Alg. *kitchitwa-widjikatek*, vers. 23. *Kiwishnan* 'thy name,' comp. Cree *ki-wiyowin* (vv. 18, 20), Mass. *kœ-wesuonk.*

2. *Katpimakat* = Pota. *ku-piémkit*, v. 29: the formative *-makat* (Pota. *-mkit*) is Chip. *-magad*, of "personifying" verbs, by which action is predicated of *inanimate* subjects (Bar. Gr. 85), '*it* comes,' or 'let *it* come.' *Okimanwin*, a misprint for

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* Shea's *History of Catholic Missions*, pp. 392, 393.

† In 1855, Mr. Bonduel published, in France, as a "Souvenir d'une Mission Indienne," a drama entitled "*Nakam et Nigabianong son fils, ou l'Enfant perdu,*" —with a quasi-historical introduction. I mention it here as confirming my impression that the Menomoni dialect was not generally used by the missionaries: for the Menomonies. Nakam, "issue d'une famille illustre de la grande tribu des Indiens Ménnomonies," and her son, and his uncle Kashagashigé, a Menomoni chief, and his grandsire Shoninèw, "guerrier très-renommé," all—to judge from the specimens of their language introduced in the drama—usually spoke bad Chippeway instead of their vernacular. *Kashagashigè* prays to the *Kijèmanito* (Great Spirit) as "*kossinan gijiojong èbid,*" our father who art in heaven, (and forgets the dialectic "*nhonninaw kishiko epian*"), while he falls into the mistake of employing the *inclusive plural* in address, *kossinan* for *nossinan*, '*your* father and *mine*' for 'thou, our father.' The other characters of the drama evince similar ignorance of their own language, and disregard of grammatical proprieties.

okimauwin, 'kingdom,' 'rulership'; *ahkaymowe* (Br.), *okomow* (Gal.) 'a chief.'

3. *Hahiki* 'on earth' = Moh. *hkeek*, Chip. *aking*, Abn. *kik* (v. 7); Menom. *ahkawe* (Br.) 'earth, land.'

4. *Ioppi kishiχa* for *koppi kishiχa* (*kopai kayzhik*, James, 'throughout the day')? comp. *ohmanhnayew kayshaykah* 'to day' (Br.). *Nin-pakishiχaniminaw* 'our wheat-bread-grain' = Ott. *nin-pakwejiganimina* (v. 28), &c.

5. Comp. Ottawa (v. 28), Potawatomi (v. 30): *esh*, *ish-*, = Chip. *iji* 'so, as'.

6. *Pon*, *poan* 'do not' (James) = Chip. *bon-*, *boni-*, signifying, as a prefix, "finishing, ceasing, stopping," &c. (Bar.); comp. *ponikitetawiame* 'cease to think of against us' &c., in preceding petition.

7. *Meti* 'evil'; comp. Shawn. *mochtoo* (version 34), Mass. *matchituk* (v. 10); Menom. *konwaishkaywot* 'bad' (Br.), *kunwaysheewut* (Gal.), but *machayawaytok* 'devil' (i. e. bad spirit?) and *mahtaet* 'ugly' (Br.).

33. SHAWANO.

"The Lord's Prayer in Shawanese," *American Museum*, vol. vi. (1789), p. 318.*

Coe-thin-a spim-i-key yea-taw-yan-œ:

1. O-wes-sa-yey yea-sey-tho-yan-æ.
2. Day-pale-i-tum-any pay-itch-tha-key.
3. Yea-issi-tay-hay-yon-æ issi-nock-i-key, yoe-ma assis-key-kie pi-sey spim-i-key.
4. Me-li-na-key-œ noo-ki cos-si-kie, ta-wa it thin-œ-yea-wap-a-ki tuck-whan-a.
5. Puck-i-tum-i-wa-loo kne-won-ot-i-they-way yea-se-puck-i-tum-a ma-chil-i-tow-e-ta.
6. Thick-i ma-chaw-ki tus-sy-neigh-puck-sin-a.
7. Wa-pun-si-loo waughpo won-ot-i-they ya.
8. Key-la tay-pale-i-tum-any way wis-sa-kie was-si-cut-i-we-way thay-pay-we way.

Amen.

The author of this version is unknown. His orthography is peculiar. The vowels have the English sounds, and *ay*

* Re-printed in *Mithridates*, iii. (3), 358, but with several additional errors — the fifth and sixth petitions joined in one, and the eighth divided in two.

represents (as in *day*) *ā*, *ey* (as in *key*) *ē*; *oe* (as in *foe*) *ō*; *ie* final is the unaccented and abridged *ē* (as in *Annie*); &c.

The first word, *Coethina* (= *kothina*) for 'our Father' has the affixes of the *inclusive* plural possessive, instead of the *exclusive* (*nothina*), and means, not 'thou our father,' but 'Father of thyself and us.' This mistake is not an uncommon one: see Abnaki vv. 8, 9b, and Blackfeet v. 38, note.

I have not been at the trouble of pointing out or endeavoring to correct the errors of the press by which this version is obscured. Such notes as it suggests will be found in connection with Lykins's modern version (35) — though the two have not many words in common.

34. SHAWANO.

MIAMI RIVER?

Mithridates, iii.(3), 359, from Gen. Butler's MS.*

Neelawe Nootha spimmickic| [1]ittahappieennie.

1. Olamic| [2]nitta lellima ossithoyannic mechic.[3]
2. Pioyannic nieokimomina.|
3. Kiellelimella keelawanie kihosto poisic[5] ishiteheyannic utussic assishic[4] poisic[5] aspimonicke jatoigannic.
4. Keh meelic innuckie kassickie tewah moossockic nie tock quanimic.[6]
5. Tewah keh wannichkatta tiehe nie motochtoo poissic neelawe nihwannichkittama wietha nie motchhiqua.
6. Tickic[7] motchie monnitto nih wannimiqua.
7. Teppiloo kee nepalimie wechic motta wiehae nih motchtoo.
8. Choiachkic wie-thakic kittapollitta asspimmichic tewah olamic kee wissacuttawie tewah kee missic monnitto. Mossackic, moossackic. Hawe.

Corrections:

[1,2] Vater must have printed from a very bad copy of a worthless version. I have indicated his mistaken division of the first two petitions and the invocation. He suspected a mistake here, for he remarks, in a note (p. 360) that *olamic*, in the doxology, is 'earth,' and yet it appears at the end of the first petition; "so kann dabey *vielleicht* ein Versehen obwalten."

[3] Every word in Shawano must end in a vowel or an aspirate. The copyist

* Gen. Richard Butler was one of the Commissioners who concluded the treaty with the Shawnees (Shawanoes) in 1786, by which they received an allotment of lands west of the Miami River.

has sometimes mistaken a final *e* for *c*, but in other cases Gen. Butler was probably misled by his interpreter—perhaps a Mohegan—into omission of the final soft vowel, writing *c* for *ki* or *ke*. Every one of the twenty-four words in this version which end in *c* requires correction to *e* or *ki*.

[4] For *assiskie* or *-kiki*,—the latter being the correct (locative) form.

[5] For *poisie* (*pisey*, v. 33; *piese*, Lykins) 'like,' 'so.'

[6] For *nie-tockquanimie*. [7] For *tickie* (*take*, v. 35; *thicki*, v. 33).

Correcting *spimmickic* to *spimikie* (comp. v. 33) and *olamic* to *olamiki*, the invocation would read: "We my-father (or, 'our my-father') on-high there-who-dwellest within,"—if *olamiki* is, by forced construction, connected with the preceding verb: but if it belongs at the beginning of the next clause (as I have placed it), it stands in opposition to *spimikie*, meaning, as in the doxology, 'below,' i. e. 'on earth' (Del. *allami* 'within,' *alama-* in composit. 'under, below' = Chip. *anáma-*, Abn. *ara"mek* 'beneath'); 'Here-below we-wish (regard) thy-name greatly.' The next clause is untranslatable, but was perhaps intended for 'Come-to-us [as] our-ruler': Butler's translation is: "You are with us (or, present), and we respect you as our king"—but this is manifestly wrong.

The author of this version can have had only very slight knowledge of the language, and seems to have picked up his words one by one, from an interpreter, and to have brought them together without regard to their grammatical relations. Not a single petition would convey to a Shawano the meaning at which the writer aimed.

35. SHAWANO.

From The Gospel of Matthew [chapters i—xvii] translated into the Shawanoe Language by Johnston Lykins, revised, &c., by J. A. Chute, M. D. (Shawanoe Bapt. Mission Press, 1836.)

Waothemalikea mankwitoke eapeine:

1. Mamospalamakw'ke kehesetho.
2. Kokemiwewa we'peaei.
3. Ealalatimine wehenwe hiseskeke, ease eke mankwitoke.
4. Melenikea tape tikw'hi enoke kisakeke.
5. Winekitimiwenikea namosenahekinani, eise winekitimiwikeche mieimosenahweeimacke.
6. *Ch*ena take nekesewasepa witi kochekothooikea.
7. Pieakwi wipinas'henikea timichitheke otche.
8. Ksikea keli okemiwewa *ch*ena wisekike *ch*ena wieiwenakw'ke, Kokwalikwise. Aman.

The Baptist Shawano mission was established in 1830, on the Shawano reservation near the west line of Missouri, and an elementary book (*Siwinowe Eawekitake*) was printed at the mission press by Mr. Meeker in 1834. In all the publications by this mission, the orthographical system invented by Mr. Meeker was adopted (see vv. 29, 30). In this system, the notation of sounds varied with every dialect to which it was applied; thus, *b* stands in the Delaware for *ū*, in the Shawano for *th;* *h* represents Delaware and Potawatomi *tch*, in Shawano it is a mere aspirate; *c* is Delaware *ĕ*, Shawano *ch* soft, and so on. The (unfinished) version of Matthew has no key to the pronunciation, and I leave the vowels as I find them, and of the consonants I change, only, Mr. Meeker's *b* and *c*, to *th* and *ch*, respectively. His *a* represents, generally, the sound of English long *ā* (in *mane*) but occasionally that of *ă* short (in *at*); *e*, generally, the English *ē* (as in *me*); *o*, nearly as in *note*, but more open; *i* is of uncertain value, having sometimes the sound of Italian *a* (in *far*), but more frequently standing for a neutral vowel for which other writers put *a*, *o*, or *ŭ* (*v* of the Bible Society's texts): compare Meeker's *tikw'hi* (bread), with *tuckwhana*, v. 33, and *tukwhah* of Cummings's vocabulary.*

According to Heckewelder, the Shawanoes "generally place the accent on the last syllable,"—and this agrees with the marked accentuation of Cummings's and Howse's vocabularies.

Waothemalikea is a synthesis corresponding to Jones's Chippeway *waosemegoyun* and Zeisberger's Delaware *wetóchemelenk*. The Shawanoes and Delawares have been allies and have maintained unbroken intercourse for more than a century. The influence of this relation on the mission-dialect of Zeisberger has already been suggested (v. 17, note). Mr. Lykins appears to have had in mind Zeisberger's Delaware version of this prayer—which was already familiar to some of the Shawanoes, probably,—following its order, and selection of words, rather than that of the English text. The

* In the key to pronunciation prefixed to Lykins's Shawano primer (*Siwinowe Eawekitake*) printed in 1834, the sounds of the vowels are as follows: *a* as in *mane*, *i* as *a* in *far*, *e* as in *me*, *o* as in *no*, *w* as *o* in *move*.

synthesis for 'our Father' is framed on the primary *-oth*, to signify 'Thou who art *like* a father to us.' Meeker has, *nothi* 'my father' (*nòthah*, Cum.), vocat. *nothahe*, *Hothemi* 'the Father,' *nothwi* 'our father,' &c. *Mankwitwe* 'sky,' *mankwitoke* 'in the sky,' 'in heaven' (*menkwàtkee*, *-tokee*, Cumm.)

1. 'Very-highly-exalted-be thy-name.' The primary verb is strengthened by *mamospi-* 'very high'—comp. *mamospike witchewe* "into an exceeding high mountain," Matt. iv. 8; with *lamak'we* comp. *lamakothe* 'honor,' Matt. xiii. 57; *olami* 'above,' 'exceeding' (Del. *allowiwi*, Zeisb., Mass. *anue*).

2. 'Thy rulership will-come.' *Okemiwewe* 'rulership' ('kingdom,' Matt. vii. 21). *We* (*wa*) is the sign of the future, indicative or imperative, but *peaei* is in the indicative; comp. *kisakeke wa'peaei* 'the days will come, Matt. ix. 16; *peawi* 'he comes,' *peake* 'they come,' *peaei* 'it comes,' *peilo* 'come thou,' *eapitche* 'when he came,' (Lykins).

3. 'As-thou-willest may-that-be on-earth as so-is in-heaven.' *Natalalati* 'I will,' strengthening the short vowel in the conditional mood, makes *ealalati-mishe* 'as he wills,' *ealalati-mine* 'as thou wilt,' &c.; comp. Menom. *enenitaman*, Cree (v. 20) *a itaye'tumun*, Chip. (v. 27) *enendŭmŭn*. *We'henwi* from *heno* (*éne*, Howse) 'this' *inanim. obj.*, as in *eno-ke kisakeke* 'in this day,' 'to-day' (pet. 4). *Iseske* (and *hi-*) 'earth,' here in the locative, *hiseske-ke; ahsiskée*, Cumm., *assiskeykie* (v. 33). *Ease* 'so,' Chip. *iji*, Menom. *esh* (v. 32), Ilin. *ichi; hene ease neke* "that it might be fulfilled," i. e. 'this so so-be' (Matt. xii. 17). *Eke* is perhaps a misprint for *neke* (Del. *leek*, v. 17) 'it so is.'

4. 'Give-us enough bread this day-in.' *Tapi* = Mass. *tâpi* 'enough'; comp. Chip. *nin debis* 'I have enough,' *nin debia* 'I satisfy him' (Bar.). *Tikw'hi* (*tukwhàh*, Cumm.) 'bread,' Moh. *tquogh* (v. 13). *Enoke* 'in this,' 'now'; *enoke kisakeke* 'this day-in'; *enokeèkahsakeèkee*, Cumm.; comp. Del. *eligischquik* (Zeisb.), Cree *anœts ka kisikak* (v. 20b.), Nipis. *nongom gijigak* (v. 24).

5. 'Forgive-us our-bad-doings as we-shall-forgive-them they-who-do-us-harm.' The principal verb is related to Alg. (Chip.) *œanisitam-* 'to lose from mind' (see v. 23). *Miche*, *mache*

(=Mass. and Chip. *matchi*) 'bad,' as adj. inan., *machike* 'evil,': *machelaniwaw* 'badness, sin'; *machenaheke* (*mosenaheki*) 'bad doing.'

6. 'And do-not lead-us where-in we are-tempted'? *Chena* (so, in Meeker's orthography) for 'and.' *Take* 'do not,' = Mass. *ahque*, Moh. *cheen*, Dal. *katschi*, &c.; in v. 33, *thicki*.

7. *Pieakwi* [*ie* = *ai*, or English ī nearly; Meeker writes *Siemin* for 'Simon,' *Tieile* for 'Tyre';] used for the conjunction 'but,' and sometimes for 'only'; its primary meaning seems to be, 'on the other side,' 'on the contrary.' The final *otche* (*oce*, Meeker) is the post-position 'from,' Chip. *ondji; ti-michithe-ke otche* 'from what is bad'; *muchàhthee* 'bad,' Cumm.

8. 'For thou dominion and power (strength) and glory (magnificence?).' *Keli* (*keyla*, v. 33, *keelah*, C.) 'thou.' *Wisekike* 'power,' Matt. ix. 8; comp. *wisekike* 'he is able, has power,' *wesekikwelane* 'a strong man,' Matt. ix. 6, xii. 29; (*wishkànwee* 'strong,' C.).

Kokwalikwise 'always,' 'at all times' (*kokwèlahkwàhshee* 'forever,' C.); comp. *kokwa-kiche* 'every where,' 'whithersoever,' Matt. viii. 19; *kokwa-nathi* 'whosoever,' v. 19; (and *telàhkwàhshee* 'never,' C.): comp. Chip. *kakina* 'all,' 'the whole,' 'entirely'; *káginig* (Ottawa *kágini*) 'always, continually' (Bar.).

[PSEUDO] SHAWANO.

"Savanahicé"; from Chamberlayne's *Oratio dominica in diversas . . . linguas versa* (1715). Re-printed by Vater, in *Mithridates*, iii. (3), 358.

Keelah Nossé kitshah awé Heyring:
1. Yah zong seway ononteeo.
2. Agow aygon awoanneeo.
3. Yes yaon onang ché owah itsché Heyring.
4. Kaat shiack Mowatgi hee kannaterow tyenteron.
5. Esh keinong cha haowi eto neeot shkeynong haïtshé kitsha haowi.
6. Ga ri waah et kaïn.
7. Isse he owain matchi.

Agow aigon issé sha wanneeo egawain onaïng. Neeo.

I have inserted this version, not because it is Shawanese—which it certainly is not—but because it has been copied as

such, from Chamberlayne, by Hervas, Bodoni,* Vater, and Auer.† It does not belong to any *one* language ever spoken by an American tribe. The first two words, "*keelah nossé*," are of Algonkin origin, and the *prónoun* may pass for Shawanese. *Heyring* was probably transferred from the English 'heaven,' but with a locative inflection (*-ng*) which was not found in the Shawano. The greater part of the version looks as if had been made up from some Iroquois dialect, half-understood by the translator. The text was, we may be sure, bad enough at the first; and it has been hopelessly corrupted by copyist and printers. In the 4th petition we seem to recognize in *kaat shiack*, Mohawk *kássha* (as Campanius wrote it) 'give me,' *cassar* (Long); and in *kannaterow*, Iroq. *kanadaro* (Long), *canadra* (Camp.), 'bread,' *kanatarok*, Gal.; in *hee* and *issé*, the Iroq. pronouns, *ii* and *isé*, 'I, me, or us,' and 'thou': in *agow*, the Iroq. equivalent (*akœa*, *kœa*) of Alg. *ketchi* 'greatest, chief,' &c.; *agow aigon issé sha wanneeo* is Iroq. *akœekon isé seœenniio* 'of-all thou art-master'; with which comp. (2d pet.) *agow aigon awoanneeo*, intended to signify 'be master of all.' In the 5th petition, *eshkeinong* was probably written as one word, and *eto neeot shkeynong* may have been *etonee otshkeynong* (Iroq. *ethoni* 'so').

Chamberlayne, in his preface, says that this version — "*Savanahicam*, linguæ *circa Canadam usitatæ*, — misit Reverendus Doctor le Jau, V. D., Minister S. Jacobi in Carolinam Meridionali."

36. ILLINOIS (PEOUARIA).

As printed by Bodiani, *Oratio Dominica in CLV Linguas* (Paris, 1806), "ex MS." [The notation is nearly the same employed by Rasles and other Jesuit missionaries: *ou* is substituted by the printer for Gravier's 8 (*œ*, Germ. *u*); the vowels as in German; *c* (used only before *a* and *o*) as *k*: *ch* nearly as in English: *g* is *soft* before *e* or *i*; *gh*, as *g* hard.]

Oussemiranghi kigigonghi epiane:
1. Cousseta mourinikintcke[1] kiouinsounemi.
2. Kiteperinkiounemi piakitche.

* *Oratio Dominica in CLV Linguas* (Parmæ, 1806): "Savahanice; Ex Chamberlâynio."

† Sprachenhalle. *Das Vater-Unser in mehr als* 200 *Sprachen und Mundarten*, u. s. w. No. 595.

3. Kigigonghi kicou echiteheianiri nichinagatoui, akiskionghi napi nichinagouatetche.
4. Acami ouapankiri eouiraouianghi kakieoue[2] miriname.
5. Kichiouinachiamingi ichi pounikiteroutakianki, rapigi pounikiteroutaouiname kichiouinariranghi.
6. Kiaheoueheoueghe toupinachianmekinke chincheouihiname.
7. Mareouatoungountchi checouihiname.
   Vouintchiaha[3] nichinagoka.

[1] Read: *coussetaïmourinikintche.* [2] For *aouiraoui nounghi kakicoue* ? see note, infra. [3] For *Ouintchiaha.*

A copy of this version, evidently from the same original, was communicated to Dr. John Pickering, in 1823, as from a MS. grammar and dictionary of the Illinois language. The MS. may have been that of Father Boulanger, missionary to the Illinois in 1721. The version is more probably that of Father James Gravier, S. J., missionary from 1687 to 1706, who "was the first to analyze the language thoroughly and compile its grammar, which subsequent missionaries brought to perfection."* I have recently had the good fortune to discover the long-lost dictionary of Gravier, with additions and corrections by his successors in the Illinois mission, and by its aid I am enabled to correct some—though not all—of the errors of Bodiani's copy.†

The first Algonkins from the southwest who visited the French post on Lake Superior called themselves *Iliniwek* 'viri,' in the singular *Iliniwa;* whence, says Dablon in the *Relation* for 1671, the southern Indians were called, generally, *Ilinois*, "just as the name of Ottawas (*Outaouacs*) was given to all the upper Algonkins, though of different nations, because the Ottawas were the first who became known to the French." When Marquette visited the Mississippi, in 1673, two principal tribes of the Ilinois nation,—the *Peouaria* and the *Mouingouena*—lived west of that river, north of the Des Moines.‡ The *Kaskaskias* were on the upper Illinois, and to this region the *Peouarias*, soon after Marquette's visit, re-

* Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, pp. 414, 415 [from Father Marest in *Lettres Edifiantes*].

† I have cited this MS. Dictionary as *Gr.*

‡ Formerly the "*Mouingonan* River."

moved. The *Tamarouas* and *Caoukias* were to the south, near the east bank of the Mississippi. These five tribes constituted the Ilinois nation—to which was subsequently added a sixth, the *Metchagamea* (of a different dialect). The great village of the *Kaskaskias*, 1680–1700, was south of the Illinois River, between it and the Vermillion. The *Peouarias* were on the north side of the Illinois, near La Salle's fort (and the present village of Utica), and it was here that Gravier resumed, in 1693, his mission work among the Ilinois, and built a chapel. His MS. dictionary is of the Peouaria dialect, in which *r* is used for the more common Illinois *l* or *n*.*

The French missionaries found the Ilinois language "very different from that of any other Algonkin nation."† Marquette mentions the differences of dialect between remote villages of the nation, but these were not so great that the inhabitants could not converse together.‡

The *Miamis* were allies of the Illinois, and spoke a dialect of the same language, of which we have some vocabularies; one in Volney's *Tableau* &c. *des États-Unis* (Paris, 1803), vol. ii. pp. 525–532, and another, from MS. authorities, printed in the Comparative Vocabulary to Gallatin's Synopsis.

The Peouaria dialect must have been soft and musical, in comparison with others of the same family which are known to us. Almost every syllable terminates with a vowel: the only exceptions are those in which the vowel is followed by *n* (nasal?) before *g*, *k*, *ch*, and *tch*, in the next syllable. The proportion of consonants to vowels, in the written language, is very small. Some words are framed entirely of vowels, e. g. *ѡaïѡa* [u-a-i-u-a] 'he goes astray'; *ѡaѡi* [u-a-u-i, or, with imperfect diphthongs, *ua-ui* ['an egg']; *ѡiѡѡa* [u-i-u-u-a] 'he is married'; in many others, there is only a single semi-vowel or consonant proper in half a dozen syllables, e. g. *aïѡaakiѡi* 'there is yet room'; *aïapia* 'a buck.' In *acoue-ouateoui* (*acѡeѡateѡé*, Gr.) 'it leans, is not upright,' we have but two consonants.

* He gives: "*Inooea*, Ilinois, peuple": "*Irinooa*, un homme fait": "*Irenooeooa*, il parle Ilinois"; "*nit-erenooe*, je parle Ilinois, je parle ma langue."

† Relation, 1667, p. 21.

‡ *Narrative*, in Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, 245.

Œssemiranghi. The meaning aimed at was "Thou who art as a father to us," but the pronominal prefix of the first person is omitted. *Nœssa* 'my father,' *œssari* 'his father'; *nit-œssima* 'I have him for a father.' The final *-eranghi* has the meaning of 'such as,' or 'like.' *Kigigœnghi*, in the locative, from *kigigœi* 'sky, day' (Gr.). *Epiane*, 2d pers. conditional, from *nit api* 'I sit' ("il se dit de toute sorte de *situation*," Gr.).

1. Read, *cœssetaïmœrinikintche ki-œinsœnemi* 'make it to be spoken with fear thy-name'; *ni-cœssa* 'I fear him,' *ni-cœssetan* 'I fear it,' *ni-cœssita-iamœi* 'I cause myself to be feared when I speak.' *Aœinsœnemi* 'his name,' from *œinsœa* 'he calls himself,' *œinsœni* 'a name'; the final *mi* is the mark of possession or personal appropriation.

2. *Ki-teberinkiœnemi* 'thy mastery'; from the same root as Abn. *ke-tepeltemwaghen* (v. 6), Cree *ke-tipaye'chekawin* (v. 20), Alg. *ki-tebeningeœin* (v. 23); Il. *ni-teberinki* 'I am master,' *ni-teberinki-œne-mi* 'my mastery, my government.' *Piakitche* 'let it come,' imperat. 3d sing. (inan.) from *ni-pia* 'I come': comp. Del. *peyewiketch* [*pejewiketsch*, Zeisb.], Pot. *piyak*, v. 31.

3. 'In-heaven the-thing thou-thinkest is-so-done, on-earth likewise so-let-it-be-done.' *Kicœ* 'something' (Chip. *gégo*), "mais ordinairement il ne dit pas seul" (Gr.). *Nit-ichitehœa* 'I so think,' literally, 'I am so (*ichi*) in heart (*tehe*),' Chip. *nind iji-déé* "my heart is so" (Bar.). *Nichinagatœï* or (without the initial *n*) *ichinagatœï* 'it is so done.' *Akiskiœi* and *achiskiœi* 'earth, land' (Gr.); comp. Miami *akihkeœe*, Kikapou *akiskiii* (Barton), Cree and Shawn. *assiskî*, Montagn. *astshi* (v. 22). *Napi* 'in the same manner, likewise.'

4. There are errors in the printed text, and the meaning of the original is thereby made doubtful. This seems most probable: "Of every day [our] portion, this day give us"; and if so, we must read: *egami ouapankiri aouiraoui nounghi kakiscoue miriname. Egami* 'at all times.' *Ouabankiri* from *ouabankie* 'when day comes' (lit. 'when it is light'), and so, 'of the day,' or 'the day's'; strictly, 'of the morning,' i. e. 'of the morrow': *egami œabankiri* 'of every morrow'; so, *egami maiacœeritchi* (Gr.) 'every noon.' *Raœi* 'portion,

share'; *ni-raœi* "my portion, my share of food, of meat, &c.," *aœiraœi* "his portion, food, that on which he subsists" (Gr.). *Nœnghi kakicœe* (and *kakiscœe*) 'to-day,' Chip. *nongom gijigak* (v. 24), Ott. *nongo agijĭgak*. *Miriname*, from *nimira* 'I give it him'; but the verb *nit-aramipœra* 'I give him food' would have better expressed the meaning aimed at.

5. 'Those-who-do-us-wrong as we-pardon-them, the-same pardon-thou-us when-we-do-wrong.' *Ni-kichiœinara* 'I offend him by my conduct, *ni-kichihœi* 'I do wrong to myself'; comp. Pota. *kichiimidgin* (v. 31). *Ichi* 'as,' Chip. *iji*. *Ni-pœnikiterœtaœa* 'I cease to be offended at him,' 'I pardon him'; comp. Potawatomi vv. 30, 31, Ottawa v. 28. *Rapi*, *rapigi* (same as *napi*, pet. 3), 'in like manner,' 'all the same.'

6. 'When-thou-leadest-us where-we-may-fall, make-us-strong"? I am not confident of the accuracy of this translation, for I can make nothing of the first verb, and suspect an error of the copyist. The second verb is from the primary *ni-pinechine* 'I fall down,' 3d pers. *pinechinœe*. The last is from *chinchiœihiœi* 'he makes him strong,' 'gives him strength,' causative from *chinchiœi* 'strong, firm' (comp. *ni-chinchiœsi* 'I am strong'; *ni-chinchiœitehe* 'I am strong hearted,' Gr.; Chip. *nin-songis*, *nin-songidee*, Bar.).

7. 'From-evil deliver-us.' *Mareœatœngaracatchi* "au mal, au péche" (Gr.); the root *mare* denotes "something bad, evil"; *mareœatœtanto kihiaki* "confess thy fault," *ni-mareœate* "I have missed the mark," have failed, &c. *Ni-chicœiha* 'I save him, deliver him from his enemies,' whence *checœihiœeta* 'one who saves,' 'the Saviour.'

Œintchihaha "plut a dieu que" (Gr.), lit. 'so do for us'; *ni-œintchiha* 'I do to him' good, *or* evil [the root, *œntchi* (Chip. *ondji*) means 'because of,' 'on account of,' and the verb causative, *ni-œintchiha* means, primarily, 'I do to him on account of' or 'because of' an implied motive; hence 'I reward him for,' and 'I punish him for,' and 'I do penance,' i. e. 'punish myself for it']. *Nichinagoka*, same as *ichinagœki* (comp. *nichinagatœi*, pet. 3) 'so [be it] done.'

37. ILLINOIS.

MODERN PEORIA?

From *Pewani ipi Potewatemi Missinoikan, eyowat nemadjik, Catholiques Endjik* (Baltimore, 1846), a R. C. primer for one of the mixed missions, Peoria and Potawatomi.*

Osimirangi peminge epiyan:

1. Wendja matchi tipatamangi kiwinisonimi.
2. Wendja matchi piyarotauwika kimauwioni.
3. Chayi kitaramitako yochi pemingi, wendja matchi nichi ramitorangi wahe pemamikicingi.
4. Inongi wasewe mirinammi mitchiangi.
5. Ponigiterotauwinammi nimatchi mitoseniwionanni nichi ponigiterotauwakki chingirauwerimidjik.
6. Kirahamawinammi ichka nissassiwangi.
7. Wendjiswerimiminammi nichika mereoki chiriniciwangi. Wendja matchi nichinakoki.

A mission was established by Father Van Quickenborne (S. J.) in 1836, among the Kickapoos, and the Kaskaskias, Peorias, Weas, and Piankeshaws, remnants of the Illinois and Miami nations, near the Osage River, in the Indian Territory. In 1834, the Peorias numbered only 140, of all ages, and of the Kaskaskias only one man of the full blood and 60 half-breeds remained. A few years later, the Kickapoo mission was united with St. Mary's Potawatomi mission, on Sugar Creek,†—and the little primer from which this version is taken appears to have been prepared for the use of scholars from various tribes. At this time, "the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, and Kaskaskias, were in fact but a single tribe. By frequent intermarriages and adoptions, their distinctive characteristics, if any ever existed, had disappeared. They resided upon the same territory, and spoke the same language."‡

The dialect, as appears by comparing this version with the preceding, does not differ widely from that of Gravier's Peouaria mission. Comp. *Osimirangi*, *oussemiranghi; epiyan*, *epiane; kiwinisonimi*, *kiouinsounemi* ('thy name'); *mirinammi*, *miriname* ('give us'); *ponigiterotauwinammi*, *pounikiteroutaouiname* ('forgive us'); &c.

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* Pronounce: *g* always hard (= *gh* of Gravier); *w* as in English (= 8 of Gravier, *ou* of v. 36).

† Shea's *History of Am. Cath. Missions*, pp. 461–465.

‡ Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851, pp. 7, 90.

Peminge 'on high' or 'in heaven,' in the invocation and 3d petition, is *speminghi* of Gravier, Shawano *spimmickie* (v. 34), Potaw. *shpumuk* (v. 30), Chip. *ishpiming* (v. 27).

Inongi wasewe 'to day' (pet. 4) = *nœnghi œasseœi*, Gr.; but *œasseœi* means 'light' or 'day-*light*,' rather than 'day *time*,' and Gravier's *nœnghi kakicoue* is the more correct.

Yochi . . . *wahe*, 'there' . . . 'here,' in pet. 3, = *iœchi*, *œahi*, Grav.

37. SITSIKA (BLACKFOOT).

From Rev. P. J. De Smet's *Oregon Missions* (1845–6).

Kinanâ spoegsts tzittâpigpi:
1. Kitzinnekazen kagkakomimokzin.
2. Nagkitapiwatog neto kinyokizip.
3. Kitzizigtaen nejakapestoeta tzagkom, nietziewae spoegsts.
4. Ikogkiowa ennoch matogkwitapi.
5. Istapikistomokit, nagzikamoót komonetziewae nistowâ.
   Nagkezis tapi kestemoóg.
   Spemmoók matéakoziep makapi.
   Kamoemanitigtoep.

As translated by De Smet:

"Our-Father in-heaven who-art: Thy-name may-it-be-holy. [2] Thy-reign may-it arrive. [3] Thy-will may-it-be-done on-earth as-it-is in-heaven. [4] All-we-need this-day unto-us-grant. [5] Forgive the evil we have done as we pardon the wrong we have received. [6] Help-us against sin. [7] From-all what-is-evil deliver-us. May-it-be-so."

So little is yet known of the grammatical peculiarities of the Sitsika language, that it is hazardous to question either the merit of this version or the accuracy of De Smet's re-translation. Mr. Gallatin showed that of 180 words in the Sitsika vocabulary obtained by Mr. Hale, 54 had affinity with the Algonkin, and this fact authorized the inclusion of the language in the great Algonkin family. But its kinship to eastern members of that family is very remote. In a majority of words, Algonkin roots are so disguised by change of form or meaning that their identity is not easily established.

Several vocabularies, besides Mr. Hale's, have been published. Those to which I shall here refer are Dr. Hayden's —preceded by a valuable sketch of the grammar—in *Contributions to the Ethnology and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley* (1862), pp. 257–273, J. B. Moncroie's, in

Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, &c. (vol. ii. pp. 494–505), and Joseph Howse's in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society* (vol. iv. pp. 104–112).

In *Kinanâ* 'our Father,' I suspect the not uncommon mistake of employing the affixes of the *inclusive* plural, in the vocative. God may be properly spoken *of*, in the third person, as 'your and my (our) Father,' but may not be so *addressed* in the second person. The vocabularies, however, with a single exception, seem to indicate a disregard — or a very imperfect recognition of any distinction in the Sitsika dialect of the two forms of the first person plural. In Howse's (duplicate) vocabularies these forms are hopelessly confounded. Moncrovie gives: "God, *Kinnan*, or my Father," and for "my Father, *Kinnan*"; but for "my son, *nocousse*," "my sister, *nisis*," &c. Dr. Hayden says nothing of a distinction by pronominal affixes, but gives some examples of a peculiar form of *dual*, in verbs — by the insertion, between the pronoun and the stem, of *semi'sto* "both, or two"; e. g. *nitoyīkhpinan* 'we are eating,' *n'semi'sto-yīkhpinan* 'we are both eating': *ia'ksoyīks* 'they are going to eat,' *ia'ksemisto-yi'waks* 'they two are going to eat'; and in some of his examples of verbs, the 1st and 2d persons plural appears to be both *exclusive* — 'we ourselves alone,' and 'you yourselves alone.' When the language is more thoroughly investigated, it will probably exhibit, in its dual and plural forms, closer affinities to the Dakota and Iroquois than to the eastern Algonkin.

The prefixed pronouns excepted, only two or three words in the whole of this version strike the eye as unmistakably Algonkin:

Kitzinnekazen 'thy name,' is Alg. *kit'ijinikazwin* (v. 23); *ninikōs'* "name," *sintikōs'* "his name" (Hayden) — but these mean, rather, 'I am called,' 'thou art called.'

Ennoch for 'to-day,' in the 4th petition, is the equivalent of Cree *annóoch* 'at present' (Howse); see v. 20b. *Nōkh** 'now' (Hayd.) *anouk* 'to-day' (M.). [Dakota, *na'ka*, *nakaH'*, 'just now, to-day, lately.']

* *Kh* "as in Gaelic *Loch*"; *ch* as in *chin, church*.

Nietziewae 'so as' (pet. 4); comp. *komo-nietziewae* (pet. 6): where *ietzi* = Chip. *iji* 'so, like'—but suggests Dakota *hechin*, *hechecha*, *echen*, 'so,' and Assinib. *aitchaizi* 'so,' 'so as.' *Nitu'i* 'like,' *nato'tsi* 'so, in like manner' (Hayd.); in compos. *niitso-*, *notse-*, 'like.'

In other words, the family likeness is less clearly traced: *spoegsts* 'on high' ("in heaven," De S.), represents Chip. *ishpiming*, Shawano *spimiki*, Pota. *shpumuk* (v. 30): comp. *spōh'tsi* 'above,' *spōkhts* 'sky,' *spi* 'high' (Hayd.).

Tzittâpigpi "who art" (De Sm.): *etapi* 'to live,' *kitzeta'-tapi* 'you live,' *pi'it* 'sit down' (Hayd.); Alg. *epi-an* from *api* 'he sits, remains' (v. 23): *sahkaitahpai* 'he lives' (Howse), *apíu* 'to sit' (Hale).

T'zagkom "on earth," is from *sa'ko* 'ground' 'country'; *sakomi-itsio* 'in the ground' (Hayden); comp. *akh'o* 'land' *sukh'um* 'earth' (*ksahkoom*, Gal.) We have in this last only a faint reminder of Shaw. *assiski*, Cree *aski*, Chip. *aki*—to which Mr. Gallatin refers it. It is perhaps more nearly related to Chip. *-kamig*, an inseparable generic denoting 'place' and sometimes 'ground, land,' as in Chip. *anamakamig* 'under ground,' *mino-kamiga* 'the ground is good'; Cree *waskitas-kamik* 'on the [surface of the] earth.'

Ikogkiowa, which Mr. De Smet translates by "all we need," is *ikaku'yi* (Hayden) 'food,' literally, 'plenty to eat,' from *akau'i* 'much, a heap,' and *o'yi* 'he eats.' [So, Dakota *taka yutapi* 'food, something to eat,' *yu'ta* 'to eat,' *ya'ta* 'to speak,' *ya* (prefix) denoting action of the mouth, Riggs.]

The 5th, 6th, and 7th petitions are hopelessly tangled, and it is not surprising that Father De Smet quite lost trace of the original and mis-placed his interlinear translation. What he supposed to be the 6th was intended for the last clause of the 5th petition: the words *-netziewae nistowâ* [*nistu'a* 'I, me'] for 'as we,' separate *istapikist-omokit nagzik-amoót* from *nag-kez istapikest-emoóg*.

Makapi for "evil"; *makaps'* 'bad' (adj.), *bakaps'* 'bad, lazy'; *maksinum'* 'mean,' *nitokaps'* 'I am bad,' (Hayd.); *pa-kapsé* 'bad,' *machapsé* 'ugly' (Moncr.).

NOTES ON

FORTY ALGONKIN VERSIONS

OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.

BY J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

Ayer
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1873